

LEEDS STUDIES IN ENGLISH

New Series

Volume I

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THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS
SCHOOL OF ENGLISH

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1967

Edited by

A. C. CAWLEY and R. C. ALSTON

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

SCHOOL OF ENGLISH

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Malkyn in the Man of Law's Headlink</i>	MARTIN STEVENS	1
<i>Style and Stereotype in Early English Letters</i>	NORMAN DAVIS ...	7
<i>Caxton and Chaucer</i>	N. F. BLAKE	19
<i>Elizabethan Colloquial English in the Falstaff Plays</i>	VIVIAN SALMON	37
<i>Alexander Pope's and Sir William Trumbull's Translations of Boethius</i>	BRIAN S. DONAGHEY	71
<i>Symbolic and Satiric Aspects of Hans Andersen's Fairy-tales</i>	CHRISTINE E. FELL	83
<i>The Manuscripts of John Mirk's Festial</i>	MARTYN F. WAKELIN ...	93
<i>Literary Implications of Instruction in the Verbal Arts in Fourteenth-century England</i>	JAMES J. MURPHY	119
<i>Rhetoric and Style: A Bibliographical Guide</i>	R. C. ALSTON and J. L. ROSIER	137
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>		161

EDITORIAL NOTE

This number of *Leeds Studies in English* is the first annual volume in a new series.

LSE was established in 1932 with the title *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* by Professor Bruce Dickins, A. S. C. Ross and R. M. Wilson. Under their aegis six annual numbers (Numbers 1-6) were published between 1932 and 1937. After a lapse of some years, Numbers 7 and 8 (a joint volume) were published by Professor Harold Orton and A. C. Cawley in 1952.

It should be pointed out that the title of the periodical has been shortened to *Leeds Studies in English*, and that contributions are now invited not only from graduates and teachers of Leeds University but from scholars working in the field of early English and Icelandic studies in any part of the world.

The new *LSE* is bound to be different from the old. Its editors can but hope that it will prove a worthy successor.

University of Leeds,

July 1967.

A. C. C.
R. C. A.

MALKYN IN THE MAN OF LAW'S HEADLINK

By MARTIN STEVENS

In the Headlink to the Man of Law's Tale, the Host observes:

Wel kan Senec and many a philosopre
Biwaillen tyme moore than gold in cofre;
For 'los of catel may recovered be,
But los of tyme shendeth us,' quod he.
It wol nat come agayn, withouten drede,
Namoore than wole Malkynes maydenhede,
Whan she hath lost it in hir wantownesse. (II.25-31)¹

The allusion to *Malkyn* in this passage is customarily explained by editors as being proverbial, referring to a "wanton woman."² I believe that this annotation is questionable and that the Host's reference recalls the story which had just been told by the Reeve. The point is of some importance textually, as I shall show, since it would indicate that Chaucer meant to disregard the Cook's Prologue and fragmentary Tale which appear immediately after the Reeve's Tale and that he meant to continue his narrative directly with the Man of Law's Tale. It would further serve to refute the argument, recently renewed, that Chaucer meant originally to use the Man of Law's Tale as the first story in the *Canterbury Tales*.³

It is likely that instead of alluding to the "proverbial wanton," the host has in mind the Miller's daughter in the Reeve's Tale. We recall that the clerk Aleyn, after his night's sport, departs from his mistress with these words:

... Fare weel, Malyne, sweete wight!
The day is come, I may no lenger byde. (I.4236-37)

Malyne here is a familiar variant of *Malkyn*, both being pet names for *Matilda*.⁴ Thus, when the Host refers to *Malkyn* in the Man of Law's Introduction, he quite possibly recollects, with characteristic relish, the outcome of the Reeve's Tale. In his long-winded remarks he insists, ironically, that time is wasting away. He reminds the pilgrims with a Senecan aphorism that "los of catel may recovered be" (as, indeed, the bag of meal in the Reeve's Tale was) but that "los of tyme shendeth us." And just as time past is lost without hope of recovery, so is "Malkynes maidenhede . . . in hir wantownesse." It is thus that the Host dismisses the frivolity of the Reeve's Tale — with a typical last reminder of its salty dénouement — and that, consequently, he provides a bridge leading to the more solemn tale of the Man of Law about virtuous Custance.

The interpretation of *Malkyn* as a popular name for a wanton, moreover, finds no firm support in extant works of Middle English literature. This

identification is made by Skeat⁵ solely on the basis of the occurrence of *Malkyn* in *Piers Plowman*.⁶ In the latter instance, Skeat conjectures wantonness where apparently only rusticity and homeliness are implied:

Thauh 3e be trewe of 3oure tonge and trowelich wynne,
 And be as chast as a chyld þat noþer chit ne fyghteþ,
 Bote yf [3e] loue leelliche and lene þe poure
 Of such good as god sent goodliche parte,
 3e haue no more meryt in masse ne in houres
 Than malkyn of hure maidenhod wham no man desireþ.
 (II.176-81)⁷

Skeat annotates *malkyn* here as "a wanton, but ugly slattern" and circularly lists the occurrence of the name in the Man of Law's Headlink as the basis for his gloss.⁸ But the context of this allusion to *Malkyn* in *Piers Plowman* hardly justifies the terms "wanton" and "slattern," for the whole point of the passage is that this *Malkyn*, unlike the one referred to in the Man of Law's Headlink, remains chaste.

The *Malkyn* of *Piers Plowman*, instead of being a prostitute, seems to be an undesirable wench, a household drudge—one whose name has so many associations with kitchen life that it came to be "transferred from the maid to the mop."⁹ Chaucer, in fact, uses the name precisely with its proverbial domestic associations when, in the Nun's Priest's Tale, he includes among the excited pursuers of the col-fox one "*Malkyn*, with a dystaf in hir hand" (VII.3384). Significantly, the *OED* gives only the general sense of kitchen wench for its Middle English citations (s.v. *Malkin*, *Mawkin* 1); it is not until the late sixteenth century that the meaning "lewd woman" is recorded (s.v. *Malkin*, *Mawkin* 2). The phrase "*Malkyn's* maidenhead," because the words alliterate, is, of course, the right kind to pass into the realm of the proverbial.¹⁰ But that it had already entered this realm when Chaucer used it seems doubtful, especially since no other contemporary citations are extant in which *Malkyn* denotes a "wanton." Hence, it may well be possible that instead of reflecting popular usage, as is generally thought, Chaucer in fact influenced the sixteenth-century meaning of "lewd woman" for *Malkyn*.¹¹

I have already mentioned that the Host's reference to *Malkyn* is of some importance textually. It serves, first of all, to establish a hitherto unrecognized connection between the Man of Law's Tale and the Reeve's Tale. No doubt this connection has been overlooked because commentators have sought a link between the fragmentary Cook's Tale and that of the Man of Law. If, however, Chaucer meant to delete the Cook's fragment at the time when he began the Man of Law's Introduction, the immediately preceding story and the one to which he would then have connected the Man of Law's Tale would have been that of the Reeve. Albert C. Baugh, for one, in his recent edition fails to recognize this possibility, observing that "there is nothing at the end of the Cook's unfinished narrative to indicate what was to follow, and no reference in the Prologue to the Man of Law's Tale to a preceding narrator."¹² The same oversight, I believe, led Carleton Brown, and recently Charles A. Owen, to the hypothesis that the Man of Law's Tale was once intended to be the opening story of the *Canterbury Tales*. The

strongest support for the latter theory has been the contention that the beginning of the Man of Law's Introduction is a conventional opening for a long work—an opening which is characteristically marked by highly formal language and a specific allusion to time. But the mention of Malkyn occurs very quickly after this opening and is thematically linked to it. If, therefore, it refers back to Malyne of the Reeve's Tale, as I believe it does, it stands to invalidate the Brown hypothesis.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale echoes the Cook's Prologue in at least one passage. The Cook, responding directly to the outcome of the Reeve's Tale, is led in quick succession, first to repeat an aphorism ascribed to Solomon, then to recollect the *jape* played on the miller, finally to remind himself not to tarry and to go on with his story:

Wel seyde Salomon in his langage,
 'Ne bryng nat every man into thyn hous';
 For herberwyng by nyghte is perilous.
 Wel oghte a man avysed for to be
 Whom that he broghte into his pryvetee.
 I pray to God, so yeve me sorwe and care
 If evere, sitthe I highte Hogge of Ware,
 Herde I a millere bettre yset a-werk.
 He hadde a jape of malice in the derk.
 But God forbede that we stynte heere;
 And therfore, if ye vouche-sauf to heere
 A tale of me, that am a povre man,
 I wol yow telle, as wel as evere I kan,
 A little jape that fil in oure citee. (I.4330-4343)

One wonders, in fact, whether the "jape of malice" in 4338 is not a playful pun on the name *Malyne* and, thus, an earlier attempt to recall it. The context re-enforces the possibility, since *privetee*, which occurs four lines earlier, is used elsewhere by Chaucer unmistakably as an obscene pun (see I.3163).¹³ But even without the pun, there is a striking similarity in the sequence of details between the foregoing passage and the one under consideration from the Man of Law's Introduction. Perhaps another glance at it will facilitate the comparison:

Wel kan Senec and many a philosophre
 Biwaillen tyme moore than gold in cofre;
 For 'los of catel may recovered be,
 But los of tyme shendeth us,' quod he.
 It wol nat come agayn, withouten drede,
 Namore than wole Malkynes maydenhede,
 Whan she hath lost it in hir wantownesse.
 Lat us nat mowlen thus in ydelnesse.
 "Sire Man of Lawe," quod he, "so have ye blis,
 Telle us a tale anon, as forward is." (II.25-34)

Here again, there is an aphorism, this time from Seneca, again there is a recollection of Malyn of the Reeve's Tale, and again there is a reminder to get on with the story-telling. In keeping with the more solemn tone of the

forthcoming Man of Law's Tale, the passage removes specific references to the *jape* (the Cook, after all, was about to tell another *jape*), and it makes use of the reference to Malkyn in order to moralize about the passage of time. However, in its rhetorical structure, the passage clearly recalls its antecedent in the Cook's Prologue. The likelihood is that Chaucer, having decided not to follow the Reeve's Tale with the Cook's (probably because the latter would then have been a third successive fabliau), wrote the Man of Law's Introduction and consciously reworked the passage in question from the Cook's Prologue. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Cook is "introduced" much later in the Manciple's Prologue, where the Host asks him to tell a story without once acknowledging that the Cook had already been introduced to the reader.¹⁴

It seems likely that *Malkyn* in the Man of Law's Introduction has long been misinterpreted. Based on Skeat's doubtful explanation of *Malkyn* in *Piers Plowman*, the standard note on Chaucer's use of the name needs to be revised. It appears that, instead of speaking about a proverbial prostitute, the Host referred directly to the preceding Reeve's Tale where a palpable *Malkyn* lost her "maydenhede . . . in hir wantownesse."

NOTES

- ¹ Citations are from F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).
- ² See, for example, Albert C. Baugh, *Chaucer's Major Poetry* (New York, 1963), p. 313, and F. N. Robinson, p. 690.
- ³ See Carleton Brown, "The Man of Law's Headlink and the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIV (1937), 8-35; and Charles A. Owen, Jr. "The Earliest Plan of the 'Canterbury Tales,'" *Mediaeval Studies*, XXI (1959), 202-210.
- ⁴ See W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1900), V, 135. Skeat indicates that the *Catholicon Anglicum* glosses *Malyn* as *tersorium*, a sense synonymous with that listed for *Malkyn* by the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ed. A. L. Mayhew, EETS E.S. 102, p. 280), which glosses it by "ovyn swepyr." See also E. J. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, s.v. Mary, where *Malkyn* is listed as a derivative of *Mary*.
- ⁵ Skeat, loc. cit.
- ⁶ *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman: Notes to Texts A, B, and C*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS O.S. 67, p. 39.
- ⁷ *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman: C Text*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS O.S. 54, p. 25.
- ⁸ *Piers Plowman*, Notes, p. 39.
- ⁹ Ernest Weekley, *Romance of Words* (London, 1949), p. 36.
- ¹⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, lists "Malkin's maidenhood" as a proverb, but the proof of its existence consists entirely of the two instances, by Langland and Chaucer, here recorded.

- ¹¹ It should be noted that Henryson uses the name *Makyne* in his *Robene and Makyne*. It is generally thought that the maiden Makyne "seems to have been his own creation" (see Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 36). Since Henryson was strongly influenced by Chaucer, he might well have been inspired by the Reeve's Tale for the naming of Makyne. But one should bear in mind that this Makyne, while offering her "madinheid" (1.36) to her true love Robene, retains her virtue. Moreover, Henryson does not make a phrasal combination of the words *Makyne* and *madinheid*.
- ¹² *Chaucer's Major Poetry*, p. 313.
- ¹³ See the discussion of the word by Paul F. Baum, "Chaucer's Puns," *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), 242.
- ¹⁴ F. N. Robinson, p. 688, observes that Chaucer probably "meant to cancel the existing Cook's fragment and not to introduce the Cook until near the end of the series."

STYLE AND STEREOTYPE IN EARLY ENGLISH LETTERS

By NORMAN DAVIS

In his preface to the first edition of the Paston Letters in 1787, John Fenn wrote: "The artless writers of these letters here communicate their private affairs, or relate the reports of the day; they tell their tale in the plain and uncouth phrase of the time; they aim not at shining by art or eloquence, and bespeak credit by total carelessness of correction and ornament."¹ The same view of these and other medieval letters has been expressed by nearly all later critics; thus for example H. S. Bennett: "Their only endeavour was to state their ideas in a straightforward fashion, almost as simply as if they were talking."² But that it is an excessively sweeping judgement may be seen even from the opening and closing passages of many letters. "Total carelessness of ornament" can hardly be attributed to a young man who writes to his mother in these terms: "Aftyр humbyll and most dew recomendacyon, in as humbyll wyse as I can I beseche yow of your blyssyng, preying God to reward yow wyth as myche plesyer and hertys ease as I have latward causyd you to have trowbyll and thowght"; and concludes: "And if it plesе yow to have knowlage of our royall person, I thank God I am hole of my syknesse, and trust to be clene hole of all my hurttys wythin a sevennyght at the ferthest, by wyche tym I trust to have othyr tydyngys; and those tydyngys onys had, I tryst not to be longe owght of Norfolk, wyth Godys grace, whom I beseche preserve you and your for my part."³

These paragraphs, of course, depend heavily upon well-established and widespread conventions of epistolary composition, some literary applications of which I have discussed elsewhere.⁴ Such parts of a letter are clearly somewhat distantly related to colloquial usage; and between the "tops and tails" the style is often much less formal and patterned. But, detached to some extent as they are, they are an important element in the linguistic repertory of most letter-writers and they invite the question how far they may have influenced the forms in which the other parts of letters were couched. They suggest, too, that there were probably other more or less conventional locutions of written rather than spoken origin which were exploited by writers of letters as well as of other "sub-literary" prose.

To consider first how familiar epistolary forms may have influenced style more generally, it appears that the effects are most often seen in the transitions between one part of a letter and another, and in rhythm. The more formal the letter, the more closely the body of it is likely to follow the tone and the pattern of opening and closing formulas. Lord Grey wrote to John Paston I in 1454, "Trusty and welebelovid frend, I comaund me to yow, certifying yow that, and your sustyr be not yit married, y trust to God y know that where she may be married to a gentylman of iij c. marc of lyvelod,

the which is a grete gentylman born, and of gode blode." Paston ended a respectful but cool reply thus: "For in gode feyth, my lord, it were to me grette joy that my seyde pore suster were, acordyng to her pore degre, mariid be yowre avyse, trustyng thanne that ye wold be here gode lord."⁵ Grey's use of the present participle *certifying* to lead from the "salutation" and "recommendation" to the "narration" of the letter exemplifies much the commonest means of making this transition; but Paston's similar use of *trustyng* to introduce the "conclusion" has the authority of manuals of *dictamen* such as that by Thomas Sampson (c. 1355) in B.M. MS. Harley 4971: "Et si vous le puissés bonement faire, aduncques auisés vous de faire subtilement la comencement de vostre Narratione issint que vous puissés comprendre la Narratione et Petitione en une clause, et sa Conclusionne ou un Participle."⁶ Some writers were unaware, or careless, of these refinements: in some of the earliest of English letters, written in 1402, Lady Zouche used a series of clauses joined by *and* where most writers of the next generation at any rate nearly always used participles: "Ryghth wel byloved frend, I grete yow wel, and thonke yow hertelych of your grete besynesse the wych that ye han had; and alwey I pray yow that ye wolen holde on."⁷ But even in quite informal family letters the characteristic type of opening is rather this: "Ryth reverent and worscheful husbond, I recomaunde me to yow, desyryng hertyly to here of yowre wyfare, thankyng yow for the tokyn that ye sent me be Edmund Perys, preyng yow to wete . . ." (Margaret Paston, probably 1441).⁸ A comparable use of participles, not only in these positions but in the course of narrative or request, came to be a favourite device of many writers. One of the most conspicuous exploiters of them was John Shillingford in 1447: "Wherapon y consideryng the rule and commaundement of the lordes, . . . y sende to yow at this tyme praying yow . . ."; and, in a variety of functions, "Y . . . am right mery and fare right well, ever thankyng God and myn awne purse; and y liyng on my bedde atte writyng of this right yerly, myrly syngyng a myry song."⁹ Other examples from various collections are these:—Margaret Paston, 1465: "I sent Richard Calle on Tusday to Knevett, dysyryng hym that he woulde sende to hys baley and tenantys at Mendlesham that thei choulde be redy to coume to John Paston whan he sent for them; and he sent a man of hys forthwyth, chargyng them in aney wyse that they choulde do so"; Richard Calle, 1469: "After that he brought hym a rynge, seyng that ye sent it hym, comaundyng hym that he schulde delyver the letter or token to hym";¹⁰ William Harleston, about 1474: "The cause of my wrytyng unto yow at this tyme is for this cause, mervelyng me gretly that ye send me nat my money";¹¹ Richard Cely, 1479: "Y have ressavyd from you a letter wrytten at Bregys apone Aulhalouday, wherby y wnderstond of your grehyt seckenys, thankyng God of your amendment, trystyng the wharste be passed"¹² (cf. Margaret Paston, 1443: "thanckyng God of your amendyng of the grete dysese that ye have hade" (no. 5)); William Cely, 1483: "Hytt is soo that my lord lefftenaunte of the town of Callez as thys day sent for my master lefftenaunte of the Stap-pull, schewyng unto hym in thys wyse . . ."¹³

Constructions of this kind can be found in early Middle English and slowly become commoner; in the Wycliffite Bible they are frequent.¹⁴ But they are so much more numerous in the fifteenth-century letters than anywhere else that they may fairly be attributed to the epistolary tradition in

particular, and so ultimately to the example of the *dictatores*. It is perhaps surprising, in view of the frequency of these appositive participles, that the "progressive" forms of verbs remain rare throughout the century. There are a few examples, e.g. John Paston III, 1472: "Ser Jamys is evyr chopping at me"; 1475: "As I was wryghtyng thys letter"; Richard Cely, 1482: "I and Wylliam Bretten wher seying mattens when thay com in to chyrche";¹⁵ but they are uncommon enough to be noticeable.

Another construction which must surely depend on written usage rather than unpremeditated speech is the use of absolute participial phrases such as "those tydyngs onys had" in John Paston III's letter quoted above. Other examples of it are by John Paston II, 1475: "thatt jorney, wyth Goddys grace, onys doon," and Margaret Paston, 1469: "wech wele considered, she were wurthy to recompense you."¹⁶

Less prominent than the participle as an introductory device, but of some importance as one of a group of impersonal constructions, is the usually otiose "It is so that . . .," exemplified in the quotation from William Cely above. The Cely brothers were particularly given to this, but it appears in all the collections. Even the comparatively sophisticated John Paston II used it sometimes: "It was soo that I was ysterdaye wyth myn oncle Mautebyes wyffe" (1479).¹⁷ Conditional forms of the expression were also favoured; indeed they had long been, as in Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, II, 11-12:

Forthi, my Sone, if it be so
Thou art or hast ben on of tho . . .

So Margaret Paston, 1465: "If so were that the Deuk wolde maynten that hathe be done to us by hys servauntys"; John Paston II, 1475: "Iff it be soo that ye be mysse-servyd there"; William Paston III, 1479: "And as for hyr bewte, juge yow that when ye see hyr, yf so be that ye take the laubore."¹⁸ A comparably set phrase, though of fuller meaning, is "It were well done," which *OED* places under *well(-)done*, ppl. a., and illustrates from *Cely Papers* no. 22, written by Richard Cely in 1479: "Hyt wher whelldoyn to enqwer and ondyrstond of hys frendys ther how he mythet be payd." It was used in the previous year by George Cely (no. 6), by Margaret Paston in 1465: "It were wele do that ye shold speke wyth the justicys or they com here" (and at least two other examples), and by Richard Calle in the same year: "Me semethe it were wele don to meve my lord in it."¹⁹ Other impersonal turns of phrase such as "It is told me," "It is done me to understand," "It is let me weet" are still more widespread.

It seems as certain as such things can be that grammatical forms of all these kinds are not colloquial in origin but developed in written use. There are many other patterns of language less easy to place than these, but scarcely less influential in giving many of the letters an air distinctly stylized. For example, the word-order of John Paston I's remark to Lord Grey, quoted above, "it were to me grette joy," is matched by "yt were to me great comforth" in a letter from Thomas Betanson to Sir Robert Plumpton in 1486.²⁰ In the same letter to Grey, "that ye wold be here gode lord" embodies a common idiom susceptible of many variations. An early letter by John Paston II, in 1461, reported to his father an appeal made on his behalf by a friend at

court to the King (and embellished it with a pair of participles): "He answeryd me that he hadde felte and mevyd the Kyng therein, rehersyng the Kyngys answer therin: how that, when he had mevyd the Kyng in the seyde maner of Dedham, besechyng hym *to be yowre good lord* therein, konsyderyng the servyse and trewe hart that ye have done and owthg to hym, . . . he seyde he wold be yowre good lord therein as he wold be to the porest man in Ingland."²¹ William Cely wrote from Calais in 1484, of the Lord Lieutenant, "and soo my lordd ys owre goode lordde yn all matters."²² The same pattern appears with other nouns than *lord*: Thomas Betson in 1478 asked Sir William Stonor, "And also, syr, I beseche you to be my good mayster"; Margaret Paston told her husband in 1461, "Sche prayythe yow in the reverence of God ye wolle be hyr good maister"; Elisabeth Clere, writing to John Paston I about his sister, not later than 1449, said, "Sche . . . preyeth me that I wold send to yow a letter of hir hevynes, and prey yow to be hir good brothir, as hir trost is in yow"; Elisabeth Paston asked her mother Agnes, in 1459, "that ye wil be my tendre and gode moder"; and the negative of the picture appears in John Paston II, in 1476: "It is demyd that my lady wolde hereafftre be the rather myn hevy lady ffor that delyng."²³ The nouns in these expressions may variously denote superior position or patronage, the adjectives favour or disfavour, but the pattern of the phrase is constant.

These quotations happen also to have brought up other expressions more or less set in their form. Margaret's "in the reverence of God," more usually "*at the reverence*," was not simply a pious cliché; the phrase could still have wider application, as when William Paston I wrote "atte reverence of your right worthy persone,"²⁴ much as Chaucer had said "At reverence of hem that serven the Whos clerik I am" (*Troilus*, III, 40). Elisabeth Clere's "as hir trost is in yow" is even commoner; it happens to recur in a Plumptre letter of 1503 together with both the "reverence" and the "good lord" patterns: "I will besech you for the reverence of Jesu to be so gud father unto me and my wyfe as to mayntayne it that is my ryght, and to se a remedy for it, as my speciall trust is in you above all other creatures livinge."²⁵

Pious exclamations and blessings are naturally very frequent in all the letters, especially those of anxious mothers such as Margaret Paston — she wrote, for example, to John II in 1463, "God have you in hys kepyng, and make yow a good man, and yf yow grace to do as well as I wold ye shuld do." But one variant of this type stands out. Margaret wrote to John II in 1469, of the deaths of two family servants: "God wysytyth yow as yt plesythe hym in sundery wyses . . . And fore Goddys love, remembre yt rythe welle, and *take yt pacyently*, and thanke God of hys vysitacyon." She wrote again in 1475: "Yff God wol nowt suffyr yow to have helth, thank hym theroff and *tak yt passhently*, and com hom ageyn to me, and we shall lyve togeddyr as God woll geve us grase to do."²⁶ John Dalton, writing to George Cely on the death of his father in 1482, said: "Syn yt ys soo as it is [a noteworthy application of this formula] of my mayster your fayder, in the reverence of God *take it pacyenly* and hurt nott yoursell, for that God wyl have done no mane may begense."²⁷ There are echoes of all these in Sir Thomas More's letter to his wife in 1529, when his barns had been burnt down with heavy loss: "Albeit (savyng Goddis pleasuer) it wer greate pytie of so myche good corne loste, yet sythe it hathe lyked hym to sende us suche

a chaunce, we muste and ar bounden not onely to be content but also to be glade of his *visitacion*."²⁸

This further recalls Agnes Paston's most remarkable letter, not firmly datable but probably of 1465. After an opening blessing she wrote, to her son John: "Be my counseyle, dyspose youre selfe as myche as ye may to have lesse to do in the worlde. Youre fadyr sayde, 'In lityl bysynes lyeth myche reste.' This worlde is but a thoroughfare, and ful of woo; and whan we departe therfro, righth noughght bere wyth us but oure good dedys and ylle. And ther knoweth no man how soon God wolle clepe hym, and therfor it is good for every creature to be redy. Qhom God vysyteth, him he lovyth."²⁹ This is surely a notable piece of writing, in its management of vocabulary and its rhythms. Much of it must rest ultimately on scriptural texts, though it does not directly translate. "Whan we departe therfro . . ." cannot be independent of I Timothy vi. 7 (part of the Burial Service), which in the Authorized Version is, "For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out" (Vulgate, "nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, haut dubium quia nec auferre quid possumus"). The Wycliffite versions, and the version edited by Anna Paues (Cambridge, 1904), have *bear*, as Agnes Paston has, instead of *carry*; but otherwise there is no special resemblance. The rhetorical prominence given to "righth noughght" strongly suggests that if an exact model can be found it will be in a sermon. In the same way "ther knoweth no man how soon God wolle clepe hym . . ." looks like a recollection of a sermon on a text such as Matt. xxiv. 44 or Luke xii. 40, "Be ye therefore ready also; for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not"; and "Qhom God vysyteth, him he lovyth" is a change of emphasis, which again looks rhetorical, from Prov. iii. 12 or Hebrews xii. 6, "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth/chasteneth," in the Wycliffite version "For the Lord chastisith hym that he loveth" ("quem enim diligit dominus, corripit/castigat"). Agnes Paston would doubtless have heard many sermons that might treat of such texts, perhaps from the family chaplain James Gloys or the friar John Brackley, "minorum minimus" as he called himself, who is a prominent figure in the letters. However that may be, the language of these passages fits with no incongruity into the rest of her letter. Where can she have found "This worlde is but a thoroughfare, and ful of woo"? Chaucer had said it in the Knight's Tale (I. 2847-8):

This world nis but a thurghfare ful of wo,
And we ben pilgrymes passing to and fro.

A generation later John Lydgate wrote a poem of 24 eight-line stanzas using this maxim as a refrain, and he attributed it to Chaucer:

O ye maysters, that cast shal yowre looke
Vpon this dyte made in wordis playne,
Remembre sothly that I the refreyn tooke
Of hym that was in makynge souerayne,
My mayster Chaucier, chief poete of Bretayne;
Whiche in his tragedyes made ful yore agoo
Declared triewly and list nat for to feyne,
How this world is a thurghfare ful of woo.³⁰

Lydgate evidently knew no other source. The other gnomic sentence that Agnes used, and attributed to her husband, "In lityl bysynes lyeth myche reste," is certainly proverbial. Again Chaucer had used it, in *Truth* (l.10): "Gret reste stant in litel besenese." Tilley records later uses in *The Prouerbis of Wysdom* and Skelton.³¹ The question then arises whether it was by accident that Chaucer, and William and Agnes Paston, hit upon the same proverbs, or whether the Pastons had been reading Chaucer, or perhaps Lydgate.

Dame Elizabeth Brews, mother-in-law of John Paston III, comes into the same question. She liked a proverb, all the better for being in rhyme — "It is but a sympill oke that [is] cut down at the firste stroke," she wrote of the marriage negotiations in 1477.³² The first record of this, using the same rhyme, is in the *Romaunt of the Rose* (3687-8):

For no man at the first stroke
Ne maye nat fel downe an oke,

translating the French, which does not rhyme within the proverb. Lydgate has a variant in the *Fall of Princes*, without rhyme. Though the structure of Dame Elizabeth's form of it is most closely matched in Hill's *Commonplace Book* of the early sixteenth century ("Hit is a febill tre that fallith at the first strok"), the rhyme is not recorded again until 1631.³³ It was Dame Elizabeth again who wrote, in the same letter, "And, cosyn, uppon Fryday is Sent Volentyne's Day, and every brydde chesyth hym a make." Chaucer, in the *Parlement of Foules* (309-10), had written:

For this was on Seynt Valentynes Day,
Whan every foul cometh there to chese his make,

and the last stanza of the *Complaynt d'Amours*, printed among poems doubtfully attributed to Chaucer, begins (85-86):

This compleynte on Seint Valentynes Day,
Whan every foughel chesen shal his make.

We may remember that John Paston II had in his library "the Parlement of Byrdys" (both he and Dame Elizabeth have "bird" for the Chaucerian "fowl").³⁴ His sister Anne, too, had a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*,³⁵ which suggests that some at least of the women could read for pleasure even if they did not write their own letters.

But it would be wrong to press the literary associations of such proverbs and phrases, which could easily have been current in purely oral use. Many familiar references and vogue-words we doubtless fail to recognize, and the dictionaries are not infallible. A minor instance of this commonplace may be seen in a letter written by Thomas Betson on 22 December, 1477 (the year of the Paston-Brews match): "Madame, I beseche the blissid Trenyte to send you a Mery Cristymas to your hartes ease."³⁶ *OED* does not record the collocation "merry Christmas" until 1617, and in a wish of this kind not until 1667. (The Stonor Letters were published ten years later than the *M* volume.) Among the detectable vogue-words is *queasy*, as applied to "the world" in the sense of "the state of things." Friar Brackley wrote to John Paston I in 1459, "Be my feyth, here is a coysy werd."³⁷ This is the first recorded use of *queasy*, which is of uncertain etymology and inherited meaning. At first sight it looks like a fairly obvious metaphor, effective but

by no means beyond the wit of the ingenious Brackley. But when we find John Paston II writing in 1471, after the battle of Barnet in which he had fought on the losing side, "The worlde, I ensure yow, is ryght qwesye, as ye schall knowe wythin thys monythe — the peple heere feerythe it soore," and in 1473, "I comand me to yow, letyng yow weet that the worlde semyth qweysye heer, fore the most part that be abowt the Kyng have sende hyddre for ther harneys";³⁸ and Richard Cely writing, probably in 1481, "howr father . . . thynges the whorlde qwhessy,"³⁹ it becomes clear that the phrase was a popular cliché and not to be credited to Brackley after all.

An apparently still more popular turn of phrase seems to deserve looking into — the common way of appraising anything by declaring, usually in terms of money, how much it is worth *not* to have it, or to how much it is to be preferred. The dictionaries take general comparisons back to the fourteenth century, such as Chaucer's "I durste noght, For al this world, telle hir my thought" (*Book of the Duchess*, 1150). In the letters the value is generally more limited, and more closely assessed. William Paston II, probably in 1479, "wold nat be in the case that I was in to dayes, tyl I knw the mater, nat for xx li."⁴⁰ Margaret Paston, in 1448, "wold not that he were hurt, ner non man that longyth to yow, in your absens for xx pund."⁴¹ A slightly more usual figure seems to be forty — sometimes only in shillings, as Margaret Paston, 1449: "Barow swor to me be his growth that he had lever than xls. and xl that his lord had not commawndyd hym to com";⁴² but usually pounds, as when Margaret "wolde not for xl li. have suyche another trouble" (1448), and John III "had lever then xl li. ye koud with your play-depart hym and hys peyne" (after 1486).⁴³ In an early letter, probably of 1443, Margaret "wolde ye wern at home . . . lever than a new gownne, thow it were of scarlette."⁴⁴

Such things ring much more colloquially than the phrases noticed earlier. One other striking expression seems to be of a similar kind. Margaret Paston wrote to her husband in 1460, "Ther be bawt for yow iij horse at Seynt Feythys feyr, and all be trotterys, ryth fayir horse, God save hem."⁴⁵ One of Thomas Stonor's correspondents in 1467 wrote (from Ascot!), "I send yow yowr hors by the brynger of thys letter, yowr servant; he wyll not be in pleyte as I wold have hym, but he ys both herty and hoole, God save hym."⁴⁶ John Dalton wrote to George Cely in 1481, "Syr, your horson doyth weell, God sawe them," and essentially the same sentence four months later; and William Cely, again in 1482, wrote, "Grett Sorell ys in good plyght, God sawe hym."⁴⁷ Here is a widely attested habit of adding a blessing to a report of a horse in good condition. ("Good plight" was evidently the accepted phrase — it occurs again in Richard Cely in 1488: "Yowr horse farys well and ys in good plyte."⁴⁸) John Paston II in 1472 extended its use to a hawk, and that not in good condition: "As for the hawke that I sende yow, thanke me for it; God save it, for I trow she woll never be nowght as Cromer seythe. Nevertheless it is the best that I can geet, wherffor prennens en gree, ther is noon othere remedee."⁴⁹ The most striking form of this odd saying was used by Richard Cely in 1479: "The horse ys fayer, God save hym and Send Loye."⁵⁰ Why St. Loy? Though he is best known as the subject of the Prioress's greatest oath, he appears also in the Friar's Tale (III. 1563-4) in apparently significant circumstances: the carter shouts to his horses,

That was wel twight, myn owene lyard boy.
I pray God save thee, and Seinte Loy!

St. Eligius (Loy) was the patron saint of smiths and carriers, and so is in place in this story. Can the usual "God save him" have been simply an abbreviation of the longer benediction?

One or two patterns of wider scope seem also to be recognizable. In the second of Margery Brews's Valentine letters to John Paston III in 1477, she wrote: "Yf that ye cowde be content wyth that good, and my por persone, I wold be the meryest mayden on grounde. And yf ye thynke not yowr selfe so satsfyed, or that ye myght hafe mech more good, as I hafe undyrstonde be yowe afor, good, trewe, and lovyng Volentyne, that ye take no such labure uppon yowe as to com more for that mater; but let it passe, and never more to be spokyn of, as I may be yowr trewe lover and bedewoman duryng my lyfe."⁵¹ (Thomas Mull, one of the Stonors' legal advisers, wrote to William Stonor in 1472, also about a marriage negotiation: "And ye in your mynde conceyve that shee hath yoven you an utter nay, then shall ye by myn assent never speke more of the mater, but lette yt goo";⁵² it almost looks as if there had been a recognized form of words for abandoning a suit.) This last passage of Margery Brews's letter has something to contribute to a much larger question. It may be set beside this: "I requyre the and beseche the hartily, for all the love that ever was betwyxt us, that thou never se me no more in the visayge; . . . for as well as I have loved the heretofore, myne harte woll nat serve now to se the."⁵³ The direct construction of this passage, with its qualifications introduced by both phrase and clause, but not so as to distract attention from the main course, is on the same level of writing as Margery's letter — though rather better handled because she let the qualifications get a little out of control. There is much in common, too, in the simple yet slightly redundant vocabulary — "let it passe, and never more to be spokyn of," "trewe lover and bedewoman," and "requyre the and beseche the," "se me no more in the visayge" — and in the regular, grave rhythm. The only significant difference in the tone of the two passages, admittedly a striking one, is that Margery Brews uses *ye* but Guenever says *thou*; but even that is not a general distinction between them; Guenever also mostly says *ye*, in equally queenly and equally solemn places, as in her very next speech, "But I may never beleve you but that ye woll turne to the worlde agayne."⁵⁴

One last comparison. John Paston III in 1472 wrote to his brother: "I prey yow to recomand me in my most humbyll wyse onto the good lordshepe of the most corteys, gentylest, wysest, kyndest, most compenabyll, freest, largeest, and most bowntefous knyght, my lord the Erle of Arran, whych hath maryed the Kyngys sustyr of Scotlon. Herto, he is on the lyghtest, delyverst, best spokyn, fayirest archer, devowghtest, most perfyght, and trewest to hys lady of all the knyghtys that ever I was aqweyntyd with."⁵⁵ Beside this may stand: "Thou were never matched of erthely knyghtes hande. And thou were the curtest knyght that ever bare shelde. And thou were the truest frende to thy lovar that ever bestrade hors, and thou were the trewest lover of a synful man that ever loved woman, and thou were the kyndest man that ever strake wyth swerde. And thou were godelyest persone that ever cam emonge prees of knyghtes, and thou was the mekest man and

the jentyllest that ever sat in halle emonge ladyes, and thou were the sternest knyght to thy mortal foo that ever put spere in the reeste."⁵⁶ Both knights were most courteous, truest, kindest, "gentlest." Can John Paston's flourish of superlatives be quite independent of Malory? Or was this a customary way to praise a knight, exploited and heightened by Malory to meet the character of Lancelot?⁵⁷ Professor Vinaver observes, in his note on the passage, that Ector's threnody is not in Malory's French source, and suggests that his model might have been the lament for Gawain in the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (3872-84), only part of which he quotes. The relevant lines are:

He was the sterynneste in stoure that ever stele werryde . . .
 the gladdeste of othire,
 And the gracioseste gome that undire God lyffede,
 Mane hardyeste of hande, happyeste in armes
 And the hendeste in hawle undire heven riche,
 The lordelieste of ledynge qwhylls he lyffe myghte.

In its praise of sternness together with graciousness "in hall," and its use of relative clauses, this indeed resembles Malory's eulogy; yet it does not account for "truest," "kindest," or "gentlest," all of which John Paston has. Malory finished his book in 1470, and Paston's letter is dated 2 June 1472. It seems not very likely that he could have based it directly on Malory. More probably there were other texts of the same general pattern as the *Morte Arthure* passage but differing in detail, which both he and Malory knew. John Paston, we know, was interested in the Arthurian story. He wrote from Bruges, when he went there in 1468, of the Burgundian court: "As for the Dwkys coort, as of lordys, ladys, and gentylwomen, knytyts, sqwyrs, and gentyllmen, I herd never of non lyek to it save Kyng Artourys cort."⁵⁸

I have drawn attention to these parallels and analogies because the conventional and unspontaneous elements in the language of the letters have been generally underrated by most of those who have written about them. But it would be wrong to imply that, on the contrary, they are a network of cliché and cross-reference. This aspect of them is not, after all, very prominent; and it may fairly be held to be of less interest to the historian of English than those passages in which the writers try to set down, in either direct or indirect form, snatches of dialogue: Margaret Paston's account of Wymondham's attack on James Gloys, Agnes's of Warren Harman's complaints about her wall, Shillingford's reports of his conversations with the Chancellor, Richard Cely's story of the young gentlewoman at Northleach.⁵⁹ We there have the earliest records in English, so far as writing can achieve authenticity in this, of the unforced note and movement of the lost spoken language — however skilfully a poet may present the words of his characters, even a Chaucer cannot escape his metre and rhyme; and prose writers, whether of homily or chronicle, will adjust their dialogue to literary and rhetorical standards. Yet though this colloquial element in the letters is of unique importance, it cannot be isolated from the other linguistic habits of the writers. Much remains to be done before we can know the links and the connotations of this fifteenth-century English "as well as Bernard knew his shield."⁶⁰

NOTES

- ¹ *Original Letters, Written during the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III*, By various Persons of Rank or Consequence (London, 1787), I, xv.
- ² *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), p. 180.
- ³ John Paston III, 1471; *Paston Letters*, ed. N. Davis (Oxford, 1958), no. 62.
- ⁴ "The *Litera Troili* and English Letters," *Review of English Studies*, N.S. XVI (1965), 233-44; "A Note on Pearl," *ibid.*, XVII (1966), 403-5.
- ⁵ *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (4 vols., Westminster, 1901; 6 vols., London, 1904), nos. 209/250, 210/252 (spelling modified to match that of other quotations).
- ⁶ Printed by W. Uerkvitz, *Tractate zur Unterweisung in der anglo-normannischen Briefschreibekunst* (Greifswald, 1898), p. 32.
- ⁷ E. Rickert, "Some English Personal Letters of 1402," *Review of English Studies*, VIII (1932), 257-63, esp. 261 (spelling accommodated).
- ⁸ Ed. Davis, no. 4.
- ⁹ *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford*, ed. S. A. Moore (Camden Soc., 1871), pp. 24, 16. The last clause is especially noteworthy in view of R. J. Menner's comment that "an absolute construction attached to the sentence by means of *and*" is "a syntactical peculiarity . . . not found, I believe, outside the works of the Gawain-poet in any of the alliterative poems except the late *Death and Life*"; *Purity* (New Haven, 1920), p. xviii. But it is not particularly uncommon in fifteenth-century prose.
- ¹⁰ *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, nos. 41, 54.
- ¹¹ *The Stonor Letters and Papers*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Camden Soc., 1919), no. 135.
- ¹² L. Lyell, *A Mediaeval Post-Bag* (London, 1934), no. 116 (spelling accommodated).
- ¹³ *The Cely Papers*, ed. H. E. Malden (Camden Soc., 1900), no. 120.
- ¹⁴ See T. F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, Part I (Helsinki, 1960), pp. 554-6.
- ¹⁵ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, nos. 702/810, 763/876; *Cely Papers*, no. 89.
- ¹⁶ Ed. Gairdner, nos. 754/865, LXXX/701.
- ¹⁷ Ed. Davis, no. 89.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 38, 75, 88.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 38, 37.
- ²⁰ *Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1839), p. 54.
- ²¹ Ed. Davis, no. 27.
- ²² No. 121.
- ²³ *Stonor Letters*, no. 212 (again 218); *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, nos. 396/462, 71/94, 322/374, 771/884 (second and third also ed. Davis, nos. 12, 22).
- ²⁴ Ed. Gairdner, no. 5b.
- ²⁵ Ed. Stapleton, p. 179.
- ²⁶ Ed. Davis, nos. 30, 60, 74.
- ²⁷ Ed. Malden, no. 74.
- ²⁸ *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), no. 174.
- ²⁹ Ed. Davis, no. 44. It is uncertain whether the absence of a subject pronoun in the third sentence is due to author or scribe.
- ³⁰ *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken (E.E.T.S. 192, 1934), II, 828.
- ³¹ M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), B 751.
- ³² Ed. Davis, no. 78.
- ³³ *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (2nd ed., 1948), p. 466; Tilley, T 496.
- ³⁴ Ed. Gairdner, no. 869/987 (wrongly attributed to John III).
- ³⁵ *Stonor Letters*, no. 185.
- ³⁶ Ed. Gairdner, no. 341/395.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 668/774, 731/841.
- ³⁸ No. 72.
- ³⁹ *H.M.C. Twelfth Report*, Appendix Part IV (Belvoir Castle), p. 11.

- ⁴¹ Letter abstracted in Gairdner, no. 59/77; transcript in New Palaeographical Soc. *Facsimiles*, 2nd ser. ii, pl. 133; ed. in modern spelling by Davis, *The Paston Letters* (World's Classics, 1963), no. 6.
- ⁴² Ed. Gairdner, no. 78/103 (dated 1450).
- ⁴³ Ed. Davis, no. 7; ed. Gairdner, no. 898/1019.
- ⁴⁴ Ed. Davis, no. 5.
- ⁴⁵ Ed. Gairdner, no. 361/423.
- ⁴⁶ No. 89.
- ⁴⁷ Nos. 61, 74, 94.
- ⁴⁸ Lyell, no. 118.
- ⁴⁹ From the unprinted part of Gairdner no. 704/813. The jingle in the last sentence is shown by the abnormal spelling of *remedee* to be intentional. The writing of rhyming doggerel was another occasional habit of the time. Cf. John Paston I's twenty lines to Margaret, Margery Brews's eight lines to John III (ed. Davis, nos. 40, 79), and Lord Grey of Ruthyn's seven lines to Griffith ap David ap Griffith in 1400: "But we hoope we shalle do the a pryve thyng, a roope, a ladder, and a ring . . ."; *Letters of the Reign of Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (Rolls Ser., 1860), pp. xxiii, 38. Cf. also the alleged proclamation posted up in the parish of All Saints, Barking, in 1412:
- And therfor it is the best, be Goddis ore,
your oune worship for to save;
loke that no man pleyne hym more,
but holde that he have.
- (*London English 1384-1425*, ed. R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (Oxford, 1931), p. 119).
- ⁵⁰ No. 17.
- ⁵¹ Ed. Davis, no. 80.
- ⁵² *Stonor Letters*, no. 123.
- ⁵³ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. E. Vinaver (Oxford, 1947), p. 1252.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1253.
- ⁵⁵ Ed. Davis, no. 66.
- ⁵⁶ *Works of Malory*, p. 1259.
- ⁵⁷ I am obliged to Professor Cawley for the observation that a number of John Paston's words appear in the description of the Knight and the Squire in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*: *trouthe*, *fredom*, and *curteisie* in 1.46, *wys* 68, *parfit* and *gentil* 72, *delyvere* 84. The qualities are of course conventionally chivalric, and various combinations of them occur in many texts concerned with knighthood; e.g. Caxton's *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry* (ed. A.T.P. Byles, E.E.T.S. 168, 1926), p.113: "loyalte and trouthe / hardynesse / largesse / honeste / humylyte / pyte / and the other thynges semblable to these apperteyne to Chyualry." But I know of no texts other than the three cited here in which a eulogy of a knight is built up of superlative adjectives.
- ⁵⁸ Ed. Davis, no. 50.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 7, 16, 17; *Shillingford Letters*, nos. 3, 4, 26, &c.; *Cely Papers*, no. 89.
- ⁶⁰ *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, no. 72 n.

CAXTON AND CHAUCER

By N. F. BLAKE

In order to build up that picture of Caxton as a man of letters which they have tried to foster, many writers have tended to highlight his various editions of Chaucerian works as an example of his literary taste. Although his editions of Lydgate and Gower have often been discounted as a mere pandering to the fashions of the time, his appreciations of Chaucer have been hailed as the mark of a man of refined sensibilities. This trend was initiated by Blades, who wrote: "The poetical reverence with which Caxton speaks of Chaucer, 'the first founder of *ornate* eloquence in our English,' and the pains he took to reprint the "*Canterbury Tales*" when a purer text than that of the first edition was offered to him, show his high appreciation of England's first great poet."¹ In this century, as a result of the controversy which has arisen over whether Caxton printed his works under patronage or on his own initiative, those who have sought to defend Caxton have relied even more on his Chaucerian editions to refute their opponents. Thus Professor Aurner asserted that "In the *Canterbury Tales* we have an *editio princeps* in every sense of the word. First in literary significance, in poetic rank and in date, it was one of the first fruits of England's earliest press, and the selection — apparently without the suggestion of any patron — of the first English printer and publisher."² Professor Aurner also attributed "high rank as judge and critic" to Caxton, not only because he printed Chaucer's works, but also because he did not link Chaucer's name with those of Gower and Lydgate, as was so common at that time. Even Professor Sands, who accepted that Caxton printed many volumes under patronage, has claimed that, when Caxton was free to print what he liked, he showed discrimination in his choice. Naturally his editions of Chaucerian works form one of the main planks in this argument. Sands does not, like Aurner, despise Caxton's editions of Gower and Lydgate, but he stresses that the English poets were produced on Caxton's own initiative and without patronage.³ In view of statements like this it might be considered time to investigate Caxton's attitude to Chaucer in its entirety to see if these claims can be justified. Such an investigation might help to illuminate his general appreciation of English literature, and it should certainly enable us to decide how a typical late fifteenth-century man developed and expressed his literary tastes. One way to tackle Caxton's attitude to Chaucer is to approach it on several different levels. Firstly, why did Caxton print Chaucer's works, and did he print them for any particular person? Secondly, what was Caxton's treatment of the text? How accurate are his editions? Thirdly, to what extent do the various appreciations that Caxton wrote of Chaucer's work represent his own views? This last point will naturally include a consideration of Caxton's printing of Surigone's eulogy to Chaucer.

Caxton printed a considerable number of Chaucer's works. In none of them is the date when he printed the work found, so that the datings have to be arrived at by a comparison with his other printed books. The following is a list of Chaucer's works printed by Caxton with the estimated dates of printing as found in Blades. *Canterbury Tales* (first edition c.1478); *Parliament of Fowls* and other pieces (*ante* 1479); *Anelida and the False Arcite* and *Chaucer's Complaint to His Purse* (*ante* 1479); the prose translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by Boethius (*ante* 1479); *Canterbury Tales* (second edition c. 1484); *House of Fame* (c.1484); *Troilus and Criseyde* (c.1484). One interesting point that emerges from this list is that there were two periods in which Caxton issued Chaucerian texts, one about 1478 and the other about 1484. The main work in each period was the *Canterbury Tales*. One might assume, therefore, that Caxton issued the other texts at about the same time as the *Canterbury Tales* to reap the advantage of the interest in Chaucer which such an edition would create, just as it is common today for a publisher to follow up a success with other texts by the same author. The minor texts would support the *Canterbury Tales*, just as the *Tales* would help to sell them; the publisher was thus able to offer a more complete list of the poet's works. In this connection it is interesting to note that the minor texts printed were different ones in each of the two periods. In both periods it is the *Canterbury Tales* which were printed by request, though none of the other volumes with the exception of the Boethius was ordered by clients as far as we can tell. Whether a volume was actually requested or not, Caxton would almost certainly have assumed that Chaucerian texts were likely to sell well, because Chaucer was held in high esteem by Lydgate and other fifteenth-century writers, and because he must have known that Chaucer manuscripts had been, and perhaps were still being, produced by bookshops in London and the provinces.⁴ When asked to produce an edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, he is not likely to have hesitated long; their known popularity would minimize the risk involved. After the *Tales* it would be a logical step to print the minor works, as I have already suggested.

I stated in the previous paragraph that Caxton produced both editions of the *Canterbury Tales* on request. This has not been accepted by all scholars, and it is necessary to review the evidence for this statement. The evidence comes entirely from Caxton's prologue to the second edition of the *Tales*. Here he tells us that his first edition, which had been set up six years earlier, was printed from a manuscript which had been brought to him.⁵ The best way to interpret this statement is to assume that the manuscript had been brought to him by someone who was wealthy enough to own a manuscript of the *Tales*, with a request that the printer should print it. It is difficult to see who else would have brought a manuscript to Caxton. He naturally does not reveal who brought him the manuscript because he now claims that the manuscript of the first edition was not a good one. That Caxton did set up texts from manuscripts brought to him is well known; and the phrase in the prologue to the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales* echoes one in the prologue to *King Arthur* (1485). This latter text was set up "after a cōpye vnto me delyuerd" (p.94); and since Caxton had been urged to print *King Arthur* by various gentlemen, one may assume that it had been brought to him by one of these gentlemen. The same thing probably

happened with the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. But if Caxton was indeed asked to print it by someone, it might well be asked why he did not notify us of this detail in the first edition. This question may not have a simple answer, but the following facts should be taken into consideration. Caxton's earliest texts which have prologue or epilogue are all dedicated to members of the royal family or are translations by Earl Rivers. The *History of Troy* is dedicated to Margaret of Burgundy, the *Game of Chess* to the Duke of Clarence, and *Jason* to the Prince of Wales; and the *Dicts of the Philosophers* and the *Moral Proverbs* were translated by Earl Rivers. It was about this time that the *Canterbury Tales* was produced, and Caxton may not yet have realized that there might be commercial advantages to be gained by mentioning the names of the gentlemen for whom he produced a book. In his Boethius edition, produced only a little later than the *Canterbury Tales*, we learn for the first time that a volume had been printed at the request of someone other than a member of the royal family or Earl Rivers. Significantly the name of this person, possibly the mercer William Pratt, is withheld. This "friend" receives little notice in the epilogue, which is used rather to glorify Caxton and Chaucer. The reasons for this oblique reference to the friend I have considered elsewhere;⁶ clearly Caxton felt under some obligation to refer to him, though he did not think the friend's name would promote sales of the edition. It is only when we get to the first edition of the *Chronicles of England* (1480) that Caxton introduces a prologue to inform us that he had been requested to print the book by diverse gentlemen.⁷ It is from then onwards that Caxton used the prologue more generally to give us information about the book, to underline its suitability for genteel readers, and to refer to or name the people who had been instrumental in getting it into print. This development might help to account for the use of the title in the edition of the *House of Fame*, which belongs to Caxton's second Chaucerian period. Although no extant manuscript has a title to the poem which attributes it to Chaucer, Caxton's edition has the title *The book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer*.⁸ None of the poems in the first period is issued with title or prologue. Yet in the second period not only is the *House of Fame* issued with a title, but the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales* is issued with a prologue. This opens pompously enough "Grete thankes laude and honour/ought to be gyuen vnto the clerkes/poetes/and historiographers that haue wreton many noble bokes of wysedom of the lyues/passions/& myracles of holy sayntes of hystories/of noble and famous Actes/and faittes/And of the cronycles sith the begynnyng of the creacion of the world . . ." (p.90). The opening sentence is largely copied from his prologue to the *Polychronicon* (1482): "Grete thankynge lawde & honoure we merytoryously ben bounde to yelde and offre vnto wyrters of hystories . . ." (p.64). This correspondence between the two prologues indicates that, although Caxton was beginning to appreciate the value of prologues, he had not enough literary ability to compose his own grand openings. His prologue to the *Polychronicon* is itself a translation of a prologue by Diodorus Siculus.⁹ It is probable, therefore, that Caxton developed an awareness of the usefulness of the prologue and that this development was not far advanced at the time he issued his first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.

In his second edition of the *Tales* Caxton tells us the familiar story of how a gentleman came to see him about the text of his first edition, an

episode which naturally raises the question of how Caxton treated the text of the poem. But I shall defer my discussion of this problem in order to consider the identity of the two gentlemen who requested the separate editions. Unfortunately, I do not think it is possible for us today to identify either of the gentlemen. Manly and Rickert suggested that the manuscript used for the first edition may have belonged to William Earl of Arundel, but their grounds seem quite insufficient.¹⁰ I myself have suggested that the name of the gentleman who requested the second edition was withheld for political reasons.¹¹ Although this fact suggests that he was in the Woodville sphere of influence, Caxton tells us too little about him for us to be able to name him. Regrettably neither gentleman can be identified. But although we cannot name them, there is no reason to belittle the part they played in getting Chaucer into print. We owe the two editions of the *Canterbury Tales* to them, as much as to Caxton.

What then was Caxton's attitude towards the text of the poems? As we have seen, it has been widely argued that Caxton was interested in producing a good text of the *Canterbury Tales*, and that it was for this reason he revised his first edition when it was pointed out to him that it was textually corrupt. Caxton says in the prologue to his second edition of the *Canterbury Tales* that six years earlier a text of the *Tales* had been brought to him, which he, assuming it to be a good text, had printed. But now another gentleman had come along, and had told him that his edition was imperfect and that his father had a copy of the *Tales* which was much better. This gentleman promised to try to get his father to lend his copy to the printer, if Caxton was willing to print a second edition. This Caxton agreed to do. When the manuscript came into his hands, he corrected his first edition, which he then re-issued (pp. 90-91). Although others have viewed this prologue as an expression of Caxton's sense of responsibility as an editor, I am not convinced that this is the correct interpretation. One noteworthy omission on Caxton's part is the complete lack of any indication as to why he accepted that the second manuscript was better than that used for his first edition, or why he had originally accepted that the first manuscript brought to him was a good one. He does not give us any example of the textual inferiority of the first edition. He does note that some Chaucer manuscripts have verses omitted and added; but this is a general statement without particular reference to his own text. It seems most likely that, when the first manuscript was brought to him by his client, he assumed the text was accurate because it probably never crossed his mind that it might not be. When the second gentleman came along, he accepted that the manuscript belonging to the gentleman's father contained a better text because the gentleman said it did. Caxton apparently agreed to print a second corrected edition *before* he had seen the second manuscript. He can have had no idea as to the quality of this manuscript; he merely believed what he was told. His ideas as to what formed a good Chaucer text were not based on his own knowledge of the manuscripts; they were based on the observations of his visitors. The principal motive for the second edition must have been Caxton's desire to please a noble customer. He could naturally also claim that he did it "to satsfyfye thauctour" (p.91); but it must be regarded as doubtful whether he knew why the second manuscript was thought to be better than the first edition. Caxton was in no sense a textual critic. He was not sufficiently familiar with

Chaucer's text to realize that what he printed in the first edition was not necessarily accurate; and he did not, as some printers did, employ scholars to produce an accurate text for him.¹² It was the gentleman and his father who knew their Chaucer so well that, when they read the printed edition, they realized it was different from their own text. Whatever credit there is for the second edition belongs to these two, not to Caxton. Furthermore, there were many manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* produced in the fifteenth century, and it should have been easy enough for Caxton, living at Westminster, to acquire other manuscripts if he had wanted to make a collation. If he had wanted to produce as correct a version as possible for his first edition, he would no doubt have got others to do it for him. He did not, and the evidence shows that he merely printed what he was given and believed what he was told.

When the second manuscript was brought to him, he did not print the new edition from this manuscript. He corrected his first edition and then reissued it. Caxton may have adopted this method of procedure because it was easier for the compositor to work from a printed book than from a valuable, and no doubt bulky, manuscript. But it also meant that the original text would only be superficially altered; the first edition, which Caxton accepted had a bad text, still remained the basic text. The changes he made are of two kinds: minor adjustments to the order of the tales and small changes in the text itself. Caxton's first edition had been based on a manuscript of group *b*,¹³ which was closely related to the New College and Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.15 manuscripts. The order of the tales in the first edition is AB¹F¹E²DE¹F²GCB²HI. This order is changed in the second edition in that F¹ and F² are united and placed after E². This means in effect that Caxton found the link between the Squire's Tale and the Franklin's Tale in the second manuscript; and he united these two tales through their link and put them in a slightly different position. The link between the Squire's Tale and the Franklin's Tale is found in most manuscripts of group *a*, and it does not occur in manuscripts of the other groups. It would be natural to assume from this fact that Caxton's second manuscript belonged to group *a* rather than to any other group. It is not possible, however, to equate his second manuscript with a single extant manuscript in this group, because all show further differences in the arrangement of the tales which do not reappear in the second printed edition. This does not mean, as some have assumed, that the second manuscript was of a completely different type from those in group *a*. The most likely explanation is that in the revision of his first edition Caxton took only certain features from the manuscript which he had borrowed. That is to say, the revision was a haphazard affair: Caxton making such changes as caught his attention or as he could manage without a far-reaching reorganization. One need not assume that he made a detailed collation of the two texts.

The changes in the text were probably made in a similarly haphazard way. These are all of a minor nature as will be seen by comparing the following lines from the Pardoner's Tale in both editions:

First edition.

And who so fyndith hym out of suche blame
Comyth vp and offir in goddis name

And I assoyle hem by the auctorite
 Suche as by bull was grauntid me
 By this gaude haue I wonne many a yeer
 An hundrid mark syn I was pardonere
 I stonde lik a clerk in many a Pulpit
 And shewe lewd peple and doun they set
 I preche so as ye haue herd before
 And telle an hundrid false Iapis more

(97-106)

Second edition.

And who so fyndeth hym out of suche blame
 Comyth vp and offyr in goddis name
 And I assoyle hem by the auctoryte
 Suche as by bull was grauntid to me
 By this gaude haue I wonne many a yeer
 An hundred mark syn I was pardonere
 I stonde lyke a clerke in my pulpet
 And whan lewd peple be doun y set
 I preche so as ye haue herd before
 And telle an hundred Iapis more.

I have chosen lines from this tale as an illustration because it was the one edited by Koch from eight different manuscripts, including the two earliest printed editions.¹⁴ Koch concluded from his study of the Pardoner's Tale that Caxton's second manuscript belonged to group *a*, though there are places where his readings differ from any known manuscript; Koch was therefore unable to specify a particular manuscript within this group. Greg, who made a collation of the first 116 lines of the Knight's Tale, was unable to confirm Koch's suggestion, for the readings in the second edition did not indicate a particular group of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts sufficiently clearly. The manuscript could have belonged to any of groups *a*, *c* or *d*.¹⁵ It is difficult to draw a firm conclusion from these investigations. But from the evidence of the arrangement of the tales in the various manuscripts and editions and from Koch's researches into the Pardoner's Tale, it may be suggested that Caxton's second manuscript probably belonged to group *a* of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. Greg's work neither confirms nor refutes this suggestion, but we may note that he realized that the link between the Squire's Tale and the Franklin's Tale which is found in Caxton's second edition could only come from a manuscript of group *a*. Unless that manuscript was very different from any extant manuscript in group *a*, one can only conclude that Caxton's treatment of the text was somewhat cavalier. He made some changes, but not others, in the order of the tales which must almost certainly have been in his manuscript. He corrected some of the readings in the first edition. But these corrections were not carried out in any systematic way; some indeed may have been made by Caxton himself without the authority of the manuscript. It is because of this haphazard treatment by the editor, to say nothing of possible typographical mistakes, that the second manuscript is so difficult to identify. Such evidence as there is indicates, therefore, that Caxton did not produce his second edition with that care which some modern writers have attributed to him. It was, like so

much else of his work, carried out in haste. Modern editors of his translations have all commented upon the haste with which Caxton carried out his translating work; it would be strange if this were not also the case with his editorial activities on the English poets.

In addition to his treatment of the *Canterbury Tales*, we can learn something of Caxton's attitude to Chaucer's text by examining his handling of the *House of Fame*. This text is interesting because Caxton had a manuscript which was less complete than the two best extant manuscripts. Where the poem in these manuscripts ends at line 2158, Caxton's manuscript ended at line 2094. No doubt the last sixty-four lines had been on the last folio which had become detached from the rest of the manuscript. When he issued the poem in 1484, Caxton added a brief poetic conclusion as well as an epilogue. From the epilogue it is clear that he accepted Chaucer had left the poem unfinished, although he evidently took no steps to discover whether what he had of the poem was all that was extant. Once again he just accepted the evidence of the manuscript he had. In the epilogue he wrote "This noble man Gefferey Chaucer fynysshyd at the sayd conclusion of the metyng of lesyng and sothsawe/ where as yet they ben chekked and may not departe" (p.69). The words he uses echo two lines near the end of the manuscript he possessed: *A lesyng and a soth sayd sawe* (2089) and *They were a chekked bothe two* (2093);¹⁶ and they thus reveal that Caxton did not know of the existence of the other sixty-four lines of the poem. The former line is particularly illuminating. We do not have any of the manuscripts from which Caxton set up his Chaucerian texts, and so it is not possible for us to judge how accurately the printed versions reflect the manuscripts. Yet we may justly conclude that Caxton's line *A lesyng and a soth sayd sawe* contains a typographical error. The extant manuscripts read *A lesyng and a sad sothe sawe* here. The words *lesyng* and *sothsawe* in Caxton's epilogue reflect the order in the manuscripts, *a sad sothe sawe*, not that of his own edition, *soth sayd sawe*. Caxton's manuscript must have had a reading similar to that of the other manuscripts; in his edition *sad* has become *sayd* and been transposed after *soth*. This example shows that Caxton cannot have been so interested in the text of Chaucer's poems that he corrected what his compositor set up. Yet this would have been an easy and convincing way "to satysfye thauctour."

Because his text of the *House of Fame* was incomplete, Caxton assumed that Chaucer had left the poem unfinished. Although he stated this in his epilogue, he nevertheless took it upon himself to compose a twelve-line conclusion to the poem. He pointed this out to the reader by printing *Caxton* in the margin opposite the first line of this continuation. Since Caxton expresses a high opinion of Chaucer's poetic achievement and frequently confesses to a lack of literary ability on his own part, it is surprising that he should seek to emulate such a poet as Chaucer in this way. If the poem was incomplete, he could have let it remain so in his edition, particularly as his own conclusion is so unsatisfactory — though we may perhaps add that it was for a long time accepted as genuine. It reads:

And wyth the noyse of them [t]wo
I Sodeynly awoke anon tho
And remembryd what I had seen

Caxton

And how hye and ferre I had been
 In my ghooost/ and had grete wonder
 Of that the god of thonder
 Had lete me knowen/ and began to wryte
 Lyke as ye haue herd me endyte
 Wherfor the studye and rede alway
 I purpose to doo day by day
 Thus in dremyng and in game
 Endeth thys lytyl book of Fame.

We may note that Caxton was not inspired to write a continuation as such; we are not to learn what happened at the meeting of *lesyng* and *sothsawe*. His addition is merely a way of concluding the poem as quickly as possible. He made his own conclusion by modelling it on the last stanza of the *Parliament of Fowls*, which he had printed six years earlier. In his edition this last verse reads:

And syth þe shoutyng/ whan þe song was do
 The fowles made at her flight away
 I woke/ and other bokes toke me to
 To rede vpon/ and yet I red alway
 I hope ywis to rede so somme day
 That I shal mete somme thinge for to fare
 The better/ and thus to rede I wil nat spare.¹⁷

Skeat has suggested that Caxton may have had the last lines of the *Book of the Duchess* in mind as well.¹⁸ But since there is no evidence that Caxton had read this work and since the parallels are not very close, this suggestion may be discounted. It seems that when Caxton noticed the *House of Fame* was incomplete, he used the *Parliament of Fowls* as a model and wrote a brief conclusion for the poem. Why he should have done so remains uncertain; perhaps it is merely an expression of that common medieval wish to have a complete work. He completed the *House of Fame* because he thought it wanted only a brief conclusion; he did not of course attempt a conclusion for the *Canterbury Tales*.

Let us turn now to a consideration of Caxton's opinions of Chaucer. Within his first group of Chaucerian editions only the Boethius volume contains an evaluation of Chaucer. Before discussing the Boethius epilogue in detail, we should note that in 1477 Caxton had published the *Book of Courtesy* which contains a fulsome eulogy of Chaucer and other English poets by an unknown poet. Caxton had by 1478 also become acquainted with Surigone's epitaph to Chaucer, which he printed as part of his epilogue to Boethius. I mention these two because they show that Caxton must have been aware that Chaucer was generally regarded as the greatest English poet. Furthermore, in his epilogue to Book II of the *History of Troy* (c. 1473) he mentions that Lydgate had written an account of the final siege and fall of Troy (p.6); and in Lydgate's *Troy Book* there are several passages in praise of Chaucer. It does not follow that Caxton had read Lydgate's poem merely because he referred to it, but as there is a verbal echo of Lydgate's poem in Caxton's epilogue it is likely that he had in fact done so. Caxton's "[I] am not worthy to bere his penner & ynke horne after

hym" (p.6)¹⁹ probably echoes Lydgate's remark that no-one "worpi was his ynkhorn for to holde" (V, 3530). We may, therefore, confidently assert that by 1478 Caxton was acquainted with at least three eulogies of Chaucer. It was in the shadow of these that he composed his own.

In his epilogue to the Boethius, Caxton opens his praise of Chaucer by describing him as "the worshipful fader & first foundeur & enbelissher of ornate eloquence in our englissh" (p.37). This is a direct imitation of a line in the *Book of Courtesy*: "O fader and founder of ornate eloquence."²⁰ Even Caxton's next phrase "I mene/ Maister Geoffrey Chaucer" echoes a further line from this same stanza of the *Book of Courtesy*: "I mene fader chaucer/ maister galfryde." That Caxton should have modified *fader and founder* to *worshipful fader & first foundeur & enbelissher* may be attributed partly to Caxton's use of doublets and partly to the common application of these expressions to Chaucer. The phrase *first founder* had become a cliché applicable to Chaucer or, in the plural, to the triumvirate of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate. Hoccleve was probably the author of it in his *Regement of Princes*, in which he describes Chaucer as "the first fyndere of our faire langage" (4978); though it later became a commonplace to write that Chaucer was the *first* to make the English language eloquent and ornate. This claim is found in Lydgate's *Troy Book* and it is echoed in Surigone's epitaph. On the other hand, the word *embellisher* is first recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* from this Caxtonian epilogue. But while there is no known earlier use of the noun, it was quite common to write that Chaucer had *embellished* the English language. John Shirley could about 1456 link in the same passage *first foundid* with *pemvelissing of oure rude moders englisshe* when referring to Chaucer. Similarly George Ashby about 1470 wrote of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate that they were

Primier poetes of this nacion,
Embelyssing oure englisshe tendure algate
Firste finders to oure consolacion.²¹

So when Caxton wrote that Chaucer was "the worshipful fader & first foundeur & enbelissher of ornate eloquence in our englissh" he was merely filling out the line from the *Book of Courtesy* with critical commonplaces of the day. Caxton follows up this statement with the remark that for his translation "in myne oppynyon he [Chaucer] hath deseruid a perpetuell lawde and thanke of al this noble Royame of Englund." This is such a general statement that one would hardly seek to provide an exact parallel. It is sufficient to say that many before him had made similar remarks. Thus Lydgate in his *Troy Book* wrote:

To whom honour, laude, & reuerence,
poru -oute pis londe oue be & songe. (IV, 4244-5)

The rest of the epilogue merely repeats what Caxton has already stated in praise of Chaucer earlier in his epilogue. It is unnecessary to look for further parallels, for nothing new is added.

The conclusion of the epilogue of the Boethius volume is of great interest as it raises another problem. Caxton mentions that Chaucer's body is buried at Westminster Abbey "by whos sepulture is wretton on a table hongyng on a pylere his Epitaphye maad by a poete laureat wherof the cople foloweth &c." (p.37). The epitaph, which is of some thirty lines in Latin, is preceded by three Latin lines, which one may assume were engraved on the *table* by the tomb and copied from there by Caxton. They read:

Epitaphium Galfridi Chaucer. per
poetam laureatum Stephanum Surigonum
Mediolanensem in decretis licenciatum.

In the text the epitaph is also followed by four lines in Latin, which are generally attributed to Caxton himself:

Post obitum Caxton voluit te viuere cura
Willelmi. Chaucer clare poeta tui
Nam tua non solum compressit opuscula formis
Has quoque suas laudes. iussit hic esse tuas.

Reading Caxton's epilogue, one would assume that on a pillar by Chaucer's tomb there was a tablet with Surigone's epitaph. This epitaph Caxton had copied down in order to print it at the end of his Boethius. However, this is not how Caxton's words are generally interpreted. Blades, who is responsible for the currently accepted interpretation, claimed that "not only did Caxton perpetuate the memory of the great Poet by printing his works but . . . also raised a public monument to his memory before St. Benet's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, in the shape of a pillar supporting a tablet upon which the above "Epitaphye" was written."²² If this were so, one might well wonder why Caxton was so reticent in the English part of his epilogue about his putting up the tablet. He was not usually slow to draw attention to his own expenses;²³ and there is nothing in Caxton's remarks quoted above to imply that he had actually set up the pillar or the tablet. As Blades makes no reference to Leland's evidence (for which see *infra*), it must be assumed that he based his hypothesis on the evidence of the last of Caxton's four Latin lines. Presumably he interpreted *hic* to mean "here, i.e. on the pillar." But it would be more natural to understand it to mean "here, i.e. in this edition of Boethius"; that is, he has not only arranged for the publication of Chaucer's works, but has ordered the epitaph made by Surigone to be printed in the edition of Boethius. It is only if we read the Latin in this way that it can harmonise with the remarks in English which introduce the epitaph.

It follows from what I have written that I do not think that Caxton's Latin lines were engraved on the tablet. They were written for the edition. Those who agree with Blades must accept that these four lines were engraved on the tablet, if *hic* is to mean "here on the pillar." If this were so it would mean that the tablet must have been set up in 1478, for Caxton mentions printing Chaucerian works and no Chaucer edition is dated before then, and the Boethius volume was itself printed *ante* 1479. If Caxton did

put up the tablet in 1478, we have to discover when and how he managed to get hold of the epitaph by Surigone. Unfortunately not a great deal is known of Stefano Surigone. Originally from Milan, he came to England and taught at Oxford at some period between 1454 and 1464. He may possibly have stayed till about 1471, when we know he was in Cologne, for he matriculated then at that University. He is known to have taught also at Strassburg and Louvain. Weiss has suggested that Caxton may have met Surigone at Cologne in 1471. He has also suggested that Surigone returned to England about 1478 when he seems to have established a connexion with Caxton. "The learning of the Milanese obviously impressed Caxton, who having then an edition of Chaucer's *Boethius* in the press, requested him to compose a Latin elegy in praise of Chaucer to be included in the book. The elegy was printed at the end of the *Boethius*, which Caxton issued in 1478, and it is not to be excluded that he may have availed himself of Surigone's help in editorial activities, as he did later with Carmeliano."²⁴ These are large inferences to be drawn from such slender evidence as is found in Caxton's epilogue. But Weiss also draws on the evidence of Leland in his *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, in which Leland says that Surigone composed the Latin epitaph on Chaucer at Caxton's request and that the last two lines from that epitaph were engraved on the tomb also at Caxton's request.²⁵ But Weiss neglected the fact that Leland goes on to say that all the verses were inscribed on a tablet (*tabella*) which Surigone had caused to be fixed to a pillar near Chaucer's tomb: "... elegos in nivea tabella depictos, quos Surigonius Visimonasterii columnæ, Chauceri sepulchro vicinæ, adfixit." Leland's account of the epitaph is therefore as follows. Caxton asked Surigone to make an epitaph for Chaucer. This epitaph Surigone had inscribed on a tablet which he affixed to a pillar by Chaucer's tomb. The two lines preceding Caxton's additional lines, which form the conclusion of the epitaph proper, were then inscribed at Caxton's request on Chaucer's tomb. This order does make sense, but it is sufficiently unusual for it to seem more likely that Leland merely inferred these facts from Caxton's epilogue. Furthermore, Leland in his transcription of the epitaph includes the four lines which are generally attributed to Caxton. Unless one is to think that Surigone had Caxton's four lines inscribed on the tablet with his own verses, one must accept that Leland got the verses from Caxton's edition of *Boethius* for which they were almost certainly written. Yet if it can be shown, as I think it can, that Leland knew Caxton's *Boethius*, then it is not improbable that what he wrote about Caxton and Surigone was merely what he had deduced from Caxton's epilogue and the Latin verses. Whether the tablet or the inscription on the tomb were still there in his day²⁶ (assuming that there ever had been an inscription on the tomb) is not clear; but I doubt whether we can give much weight to Leland's evidence.

Without Leland's comments, the most natural interpretation of the epitaph's history would be as follows. Surigone was in England for some time between 1454 and 1464, and may have stayed till about 1471. During his stay he gave lectures on Latin composition at Oxford and was clearly regarded as a man of learning and a poet of some accomplishment. While in England he either spontaneously or more probably by request composed an epitaph on Chaucer. This was then placed by some admirer or by

Surigone himself on a pillar by Chaucer's tomb. Since many eulogies of Chaucer were written in the fifteenth century and since two gentlemen and one merchant asked Caxton for editions of Chaucerian works, it need not surprise us that someone wanted to put up an epitaph to Chaucer by his tomb. When Caxton came to Westminster, he saw and copied the inscription. This he subsequently printed in his edition of Boethius together with four of his own verses. As Caxton was willing to write Chaucerian verses at the end of the *House of Fame*, it is unlikely that he would hesitate to write Latin verses in imitation of Surigone. Caxton's verses were meant for his edition and were never added to the tablet. This interpretation would be straightforward enough without Leland's comments, for Caxton makes no mention of setting up the inscription or of meeting Surigone or of asking for the epitaph to be written. Leland's information, however, would be crucial if we could decide whether he used any sources other than Caxton's Boethius. Unfortunately, there is no proof as to whether Leland did have any other sources of information; but it seems very likely that he could have inferred what he wrote from Caxton's epilogue. As Blades interpreted Caxton's words in much the same way as Leland did, we need have no hesitation in thinking that the sort of information Leland gives us could have been taken from the Boethius epilogue. If we understand the tablet and epitaph in the way I have suggested there is no need to make Surigone return to England, a visit for which there is no evidence, and there is no reason to make Caxton act in an untypical manner. It would be unusual for Caxton not to state quite openly that he had paid for the inscription to be put up, if he had done so. He had little dealings with the humanists and it is unlikely that he would have commissioned an epitaph from one of them.²⁷ But if there was an epitaph already in situ, this would naturally by virtue of that very fact have had an authority which Caxton might well have wished to use to help to sell his edition. Furthermore, Caxton's opinions about Chaucer were largely second-hand. There is no evidence that by 1478 Caxton had a sufficiently independent appreciation of Chaucer to want to commission a Latin epitaph. There is, however, abundant evidence to show that he used material which was available to him. Caxton appropriated Surigone's epitaph, as he had done the eulogies in the *Book of Courtesy* and Lydgate's *Troy Book*. To conclude, I suggest that an interpretation along the lines I have indicated accounts best for the presence of four Caxtonian lines. One can hardly imagine that Surigone wrote these lines, for the epitaph is rounded off nicely by its last two lines:

Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama poesis
Materne hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

The addition of another four lines by Caxton destroys the whole balance and elegance of the epitaph; and one cannot believe that the humanist Surigone would have written them or even consented to their appearance on the tablet. They are, however, a typical Caxtonian addition.

We saw that the words Caxton used in praise of Chaucer in the epilogue to the Boethius were for the most part borrowed from other fifteenth-century writers. There is little originality in his comments. It is time now to consider his remarks about Chaucer in the works in his second period of

Chaucerian printings. We should note first that before this second period began he had printed further eulogies of Chaucer. These for the most part are to be found in works by Lydgate or attributed to him. Of these the most important is *De Cura Sapientiae*, printed about 1481, a poem which is no longer accepted by all scholars as part of the Lydgate canon. Also during the time he was engaged in his second series of Chaucerian poems he printed Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (c.1484), which likewise contains some extravagant praise of Chaucer. Only two of the Chaucerian works in this second period contain a prologue or epilogue by Caxton, the *House of Fame* and the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. As the latter is the major work, we may start by considering what Caxton had to say about Chaucer in that work. Caxton opens his remarks by repeating much of what he had written in his epilogue to Boethius. He writes "we ought to gyue a synguler laude vnto that noble & grete philosopher Gefferey chaucer the whiche for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue may wel haue the name of a laureate poete/ For to fore that he by hys labour enbellysshyd/ ornated/ and made faire our englisshe" (p.90). Many of the words Caxton uses here are the same as those in the Boethius epilogue. The only new idea is that Chaucer ought to be called a "poet laureate." This idea was common in fifteenth-century criticism of Chaucer, though it was often expressed in various ways. It was more usual to write that Chaucer was worthy to have the laurel of poetry, as Lydgate did in his *Life of Our Lady*:

The noble rethor Poete of breteine
That worthy was the laurer to haue
Of poetrie [*text*: peetrie].

This and similar expressions were widely used in the fifteenth century. But it is quite possible that Caxton got the expression "poet laureate" from the *De Cura Sapientiae*. In that work a passage in praise of Chaucer is followed by the poet's plea that those who think his writing dull should go to "Galfryde the poete laureate"²⁸ and others. By this *Galfryde* the poet probably meant Geoffrey of Vinsauf, but it is quite likely that Caxton, when he printed the text, understood it to mean Geoffrey Chaucer and adopted it as part of his critical ideas on Chaucer.

Caxton continues his passage by praising Chaucer for his contribution to the elevation of the English language. He writes: "in thys Royame was had rude speche & Incongrue/ as yet it appiereth by olde bookes/ whyche at thys day ought not to haue place ne be compared emong ne to hys beauteuous volumes/ and aournate wrytynges." That Chaucer made eloquent our rude language is another commonplace in fifteenth-century Chaucerian criticism and is found particularly frequently in Lydgate. Thus in his *Troy Book* Lydgate says the English language was

Rude and boistous firste be olde dawes,
þat was ful fer from al perfeccioun,
And but of litel reputacioun
Til þat he cam, &, þoru his poetrie,
Gan oure tonge firste to magnifie,
And adourne it with his elloquence. (III, 4238-43)

Lydgate does not, as far as I can discover, use *incongrue* to describe the English language. It is, however, a word used in other contexts by Caxton and was no doubt introduced by him to form a doublet, a stylistic procedure which we have seen him adopt elsewhere. The reference to "olde bookes" was probably also added by Caxton himself following the hint found in Lydgate. Caxton had recently published Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, the language of which he modernized, and it may have been works of this sort which Caxton had principally in mind. Caxton's phrase "beauteuous volumes/and aournate writynges" may echo a line from Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, in which mention is made of "the large writings and golden vollums of that woorthye Chaucer."²⁹ But as it cannot be shown that Caxton knew this work, and as Caxton's phrase is similar to one he had used frequently in his earlier prologues, it is more likely that it was modelled on them. For example, in the prologue to the *Polychronicon*, which served as a model for the prologue to the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, he used the phrase "large and aourned volumes" (p.64). A similar phrase, "fair and Aourned volumes" (p.50), is found in the prologue to the *Mirror of the World* (1481) where it translates the French *beaulx & aournés volumes*. Caxton may well have taken a hint from Lydgate which he then expressed in his own way. Caxton concludes this section of his eulogy of Chaucer by noting that he had written many works in prose and rhyme. This statement, we may assume, reflects the fact that Caxton had already printed many prose and poetic works by Chaucer.

Caxton now launches into a discussion of the virtues of Chaucer's works. This discussion is based for the most part on Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*. In the first place Chaucer's compositions are "craftyly made." This no doubt echoes Lydgate's phrase "crafty writinge" in his passage on Chaucer in the *Siege of Thebes* (l.57). Then Caxton goes on to write that Chaucer "comprehended hys maters in short/ quyk and hye sentences." This part of Caxton's eulogy is not from the *Siege of Thebes*. In his *Troy Book*, however, Lydgate does describe Chaucer's writing as being of "ful hize sentence" (III, 4248) and Caxton may have taken his cue from this. But Caxton's expression is so similar to a line in the General Prologue that one may accept he took it from there, even if, as is not improbable, he quoted the line from memory. In the description of the Clerk of Oxenford we find the line:

And short and quyk and ful of hy sentence.³⁰ (306)

Finally, the passage enumerating Chaucer's virtues ends "eschewyng prolyxte/ castyng away the chaf of superfluyte/ and shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence/ vtteryd by crafty and sugred eloquence." This passage is probably based on two passages from the *Siege of Thebes*.³¹ These are lines 52-7:

Be rehersaile/ of his Sugrid mouth,
Of eche thyng/ keping in substaunce
The sentence hool/ with-oute variance,
Voyding the Chaf/ sothly for to seyn,
Enlumynyng/ þe trewe piked greyn
Be crafty writinge/ of his sawes swete;

and lines 1907-8:

In eschewyng of prolixite,
And voyde away/ al superfluyte.

The first of these two passages is in praise of Chaucer, though the second is not. Since one may assume that Caxton had recently read this poem, one may accept that he conflated the two passages, though he could have done so unconsciously rather than deliberately. Certainly the manner in which the last words of the clauses rhyme, *prolyxite/superfluyte* and *sentence/eloquence*, reveals that Caxton was borrowing from some verse work. And the occurrence of the adjective *sugred*, so typical of Lydgate's works, and of the phrase *pyked grayn* confirms that this verse work must have been by Lydgate. Caxton often borrowed from various sources and there is no difficulty in assuming that he may have used different passages from the same work. The rest of the prologue consists of some general remarks about the *Canterbury Tales*, which Caxton probably made up from his own reading of the *Tales*; no parallel need be looked for.

The last Chaucerian work to which Caxton added an appreciation of the poet was his edition of the *House of Fame*. After mentioning that Chaucer had left the poem incomplete, Caxton goes on to give his reasons for Chaucer's greatness as a poet. First, he gives a general statement about Chaucer's excellence: "in alle hys werkys he excellyth in myn oppynyon alle other wryters in our Englyssh" (p.69). This statement implies that Caxton put Chaucer above even Gower and Lydgate. But he was not alone in his opinion, for although Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate were the three great English poets, Chaucer was regarded as pre-eminent among them. Lydgate himself frequently gives expression to Chaucer's excellence and pre-eminence. In his *Troy Book* he describes Chaucer as "pe noble Rethor that alle dide excelle" (III, 553). Similarly in the *Siege of Thebes* Lydgate wrote that Chaucer was

Floure of Poetes/ thorghout al breteyne,
Which sothly hadde/ most of excellence
In rethorike/ and in eloquence. (40-2)

As we have seen, Caxton knew the *Troy Book* by 1473 and he drew on the *Siege of Troy* in the prologue to his second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, so he would have been quite familiar with both these passages. Furthermore, Lydgate also referred to Chaucer's pre-eminence in his *Life of Our Lady*, which Caxton printed in c.1484. In this poem the expression of Chaucer's excellence is very different from that found in the epilogue to the *House of Fame*, but I mention it as further proof that Caxton was well acquainted with the current literary fashion which placed Chaucer above all other English poets. After his statement on Chaucer's excellence, Caxton justifies himself by telling us in what it consists: "For he wryteth no voyde wordes/ but alle hys mater is ful of hye and quicke sentence." This claim repeats, with many of the same words, what he had written in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. It is almost as though he could recall some, but not all, of what he had written and then used it again. But he had not used the adjective *voyde* in his prologue, even though he uses

it here in the epilogue. This word does, however, occur in the passage from the *Siege of Thebes* which he had used in the composition of the prologue. In that passage the phrase "Voyding the Chaf" (l.55) had been used by Lydgate. It seems as though Caxton's recollection of the passage from the *Siege of Thebes* had become fused in his mind with the passage in his own prologue; and from this fusion sprang the new expression in the epilogue to the *House of Fame*.

We have now completed our investigation of Caxton's editions of Chaucerian works and we may conclude by trying to summarize the results. It is clear that Caxton's views of Chaucer are all second-hand. He followed what authorities he could get hold of and used their words to compose his own appreciations. The principal source Caxton used was Lydgate, and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that he saw Chaucer through Lydgate's eyes. It does not follow that, because the way in which he expressed his praise of Chaucer was based on others' words, his feeling for Chaucer was not genuine. But we may well imagine that it was not very profound and that it was largely inspired by the taste of those around him. Certainly the impetus for his printing of the major Chaucerian texts came from others, and it may well be that he printed the minor texts to build up a comprehensive list of the poet's works. Commercial gain rather than *pietas* may have been the principal motive behind those works which Caxton printed on his own initiative. Finally, it is impossible to accept the view that Caxton took care to publish as accurate a text as possible of Chaucer's works. He printed the manuscript he had available without worrying about its accuracy or completeness. Some of his readers were anxious about the accuracy of his texts, but even when they pointed out to him the faults in his editions, he did not do all he could have done to put those faults right. Even compositorial mistakes made when the text was set up were not corrected. Such evidence as there is suggests that Caxton treated Chaucer's works in the same way as all the other books he printed; there is nothing special about his Chaucerian editions. They show the same faults and virtues as his other printed books.³²

NOTES

- ¹ W. Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, 2nd ed. (London and Strassburg, 1882), p.89.
- ² N. S. Aurner, *Caxton, Mirrour of Fifteenth-Century Letters* (London, 1926), p.163.
- ³ D. B. Sands, "Caxton as a Literary Critic," *The Papers of the American Bibliographical Society*, LI (1957), 316.
- ⁴ See particularly J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), I, 561-605.

- ⁵ Caxton's prologues and epilogues to his editions of Chaucer are to be found in W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (London, 1928). Page references in brackets throughout this article are to this work.
- ⁶ N. F. Blake, "Investigations into the Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLIX (1966-7), 17-46.
- ⁷ This prologue is not in Crotch; see Blades, p.247.
- ⁸ The question of the ascription of the individual texts to Chaucer is a complicated matter which I cannot discuss in full here. I have assumed for the purpose of the article that Caxton knew all the works were by Chaucer. He mentions Chaucerian authorship of the *Canterbury Tales*, *House of Fame*, the Boethius and *Chaucer's Complaint to His Purse*. Since this last poem was printed with *Anelida and the False Arcite*, it is probable that he ascribed this poem to Chaucer as well. *Troilus and Criseyde* is such a major work that its Chaucerian authorship was probably widely accepted in the fifteenth century. Caxton would have known it was Chaucer's work from Lydgate's *Troy Book*, in which it is referred to in several places. Caxton could likewise have known that the *Parliament of Fowls* was written by Chaucer from the *Retracciouns* which he printed at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*.
- ⁹ S. K. Workman, "Versions by Skelton, Caxton, and Berners of a Prologue by Diodorus Siculus," *MLN*, LVI (1941), 252-258.
- ¹⁰ Manly and Rickert, I, 81. In my paper referred to in footnote 6, I have tried to show that the Earl of Arundel took little interest in the press.
- ¹¹ Blake, "Investigations into the Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton."
- ¹² L. Febre and H. J. Martin, *L'Apparition du Livre* (Paris, 1958), pp. 217-222.
- ¹³ Useful charts of the groupings of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, which I have used, are to be found in Manly and Rickert, II, 494-495.
- ¹⁴ J. Koch, *The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale by Geoffrey Chaucer* (Heidelberg, 1902). For his discussion of Caxton's texts see pp.li-iii.
- ¹⁵ W. W. Greg, "The Early Printed Editions of the *Canterbury Tales*," *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 737-761.
- ¹⁶ Caxton's text and the manuscript versions are printed in F. J. Furnivall, *A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems* (London, 1871-9), pp. 179-241.
- ¹⁷ Furnivall, p.98.
- ¹⁸ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1900), III, 287.
- ¹⁹ The *ynkhorn* was probably transformed into *penner & ynke horne* because this was a common doublet, and as such was used elsewhere by Caxton.
- ²⁰ F. J. Furnivall, *Caxton's Book of Curtesye* (London, 1868), p.35.
- ²¹ For both these passages see C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357-1900* (London, 1914), I, 54.
- ²² W. Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton* (London, 1863), II, 67.
- ²³ For example, he says he set the *History of Troy* up in type at his own "grete charge and dispense" (p.7).
- ²⁴ R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 197), p.139.
- ²⁵ J. Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), pp. 425-6.
- ²⁶ A new tomb for Chaucer was constructed by N. Brigham in 1555, so it is possible that Leland saw the old tomb, though it has not yet been proved that he did. Several of Leland's statements suggest he was merely filling out Caxton's words. Thus he says Surigone was a well-known poet and famous figure, though very little is known of him (cf. R. Weiss, "Humanism in Oxford," *TLS*, Jan. 9, 1937, p.28).
- ²⁷ The problem of Caxton and humanism is one that has not yet received sufficient attention. I have, however, discussed Caxton's attitude to John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, in my earlier article (note 6 above), 25-26.
- ²⁸ Spurgeon, p.17.
- ²⁹ Spurgeon, p.14.
- ³⁰ It is interesting to speculate whether Caxton thought there was any similarity between Chaucer and the Clerk of Oxenford.
- ³¹ This correspondence was noticed first by E. Ekwall in a review in *Anglia Beiblatt*, XLIII (1932), 302-304.

- ³² This paper was completed before any announcement of the discovery of the first part of Caxton's Ovid was issued. A facsimile of the complete manuscript is now being prepared. When this is ready and available to scholars, it is possible that one or two of the statements made here may have to be modified; but it is not thought that the contents of the manuscript are likely to affect the main conclusions arrived at. For provisional accounts of the manuscript see J. A. W. Bennett, "Caxton's Ovid," *Times Literary Supplement* (24 November, 1966), and *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Manuscripts formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt. (1792-1872)* (Sotheby & Co., 27-28 June, 1966), pp. 12-16.

ELIZABETHAN COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH IN THE FALSTAFF PLAYS

By VIVIAN SALMON

The everyday trivialities of Elizabethan speech do not appear, at first sight, of special interest or importance to critics of Shakespeare's style; but it seems that, in the absence of objective criteria for describing colloquial English of the period, assessments of his style as realistic or artificial must depend on critical intuitions which may differ widely.¹ One critic feels that we know "by instinct" that in Shakespearean drama we are listening to "the real language of men,"² and she is supported by another who regrets that "To the subtle realistic language of the Falstaff scenes justice has seldom been done."³ But a third notes that Shakespeare's characters speak like human beings, in real situations, only in his verse and not in prose.⁴ In these circumstances an attempt to define the characteristics of realistic speech, and to consider their manifestation in Shakespearean drama, may be a helpful contribution to the argument by a linguist who is accustomed to looking for the special features of the spoken language in contemporary English. The results of this enquiry may seem trivial, partly because so many of these features have persisted from 1600 to the present day, and we tend to take them for granted as commonplaces of language (which they are certainly not); but at least it should be demonstrated that colloquial language is not differentiated from the written form merely by the use of "vulgarisms," as has sometimes been suggested; nor, on the other hand, need dramatic language necessarily be no more than "spoken prose," as has also been argued.⁵ The respects in which dramatic language must undoubtedly differ from natural speech are features of utterance such as intonation patterns, hesitations and errors of articulation, which the writer cannot record with any sort of precision; given that the author provides the appropriate form of syntax and lexis, it is for the actor to realize them in naturalistic sound.

A detailed analysis of the language of even one Shakespearean play would require a lengthy monograph, and this article can therefore provide no more than a survey with illustrations; it is intended as a guide to what to look for in assessing the genuineness of stage speech and as a study in method for another, though related, purpose — the description of the history of English through a series of contrasted structures based on what we can discover of the spoken language of the past. What may seem trivial in this study will, it is hoped, gain point when it is seen as one stage in an evolutionary process; and even if it offers only a little clearer insight into the language of the early seventeenth century for students of that period who share in its life vicariously, some advantage may be gained in the sharpening of their responses to the language of domestic trivia. As H. C.

Wyld has remarked, "if we could . . . be suddenly transported back into the seventeenth century, most of us would find it extremely difficult to carry on . . . Even if the pronunciation . . . offered no difficulty, almost every other element which goes to make up the medium of communication with our fellows would do so. We should not know how to greet or take leave of those we met, how to express our thanks in an acceptable manner, how to ask a favour, pay a compliment, or send a polite message to a gentleman's wife . . . We should hesitate every minute how to address the person we were talking to."⁶

The plays chosen for analysis are those in which Shakespeare depicts English bourgeois and lower-class life in prose (which does not need to deviate from the norm to meet the requirements of metre). These are the plays in which Falstaff appears or is mentioned: *1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. They show Elizabethans carousing in taverns in London and Windsor, entertaining in a Gloucestershire garden, gossiping in their houses, being recruited for militia service by the local J.P., discussing the business of match-making or the pleasures of fencing or hunting, and going off to war in France. In all of these scenes, Elizabethan society comes to life as it never does in the contemporary grammars and phrase-books, the most valuable of which are *Florio his Firste Fruites* (1578), *Florios Second Fruites* (1591), J. Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), C. Holyband's *French Schoole-Maister* (1606) and his *French Littleton* of 1609. It might be thought that any study of Elizabethan colloquial English should begin with these since they were written to teach contemporaries to speak current French, Italian or English (most of the dialogues functioned reciprocally). Certainly they offer much valuable supporting evidence, but they must be used with caution. One at least disclaims accuracy: "doe not seeke the elegancie concerning the English of this Booke: for I doe not pretend to teach thee any other thing, then the French tongue . . . Therefore let not the Reader muse at the English of my booke."⁷ Another admits to being, in part, merely a translation and contains some obvious mistakes.⁸ Most of them are liable to lapse into lists for extending vocabulary: "I wil buy a Hat, a Cappe, a Girdle, a Doblet of Tafeta, Veluet . . . white, redde, greene, yalowe."⁹ Finally, none of them is set in a really adequate context, where the participants speak in a language related to their personalities and social class. But these works may be of great linguistic value when compared with contemporary dramatic literature, and editors would often be at a loss without them.

In so far as the dialogues describe the speakers as "servants" and "masters" they contribute something toward the solution of the first problem of linguistic analysis at any stage of the language — the classification of the individual speaker in respect of factors which influence his language fundamentally. These are the innate factors of intelligence and personality, and the external factors of social class and place of origin. In the Falstaff plays there are obvious regional distinctions: deviations from the norm (if we accept Prince Henry's speech as such) occur in phonology, syntax and lexis in the speech of Welsh, Irish and Scottish characters. Further consideration of these varieties of English must be excluded here, for reasons of space. Deviations from the norm also occur in foreign speech (e.g.

Caius, Katherine) and these too will be excluded. The remaining characters speak a form of English which is syntactically homogeneous; regionally, it is the speech of London and the shires around, which Puttenham regarded as the standard; socially, it is probably middle-class with lower-class lexical deviations derived from the language of the criminal classes — “cant” terms relating to theft, the law and prostitution such as *coney-catch*, *cog*, *cuttle*, *St. Nicholas's clerks*, *ride the mare*, *nut-hook*, *bona-roba*, all of which are glossed by Schmidt and various editors.¹⁰ There are also a few words and phrases which seem to mark their users as lower middle-class, e.g. *forsooth*, *indeed*, *by yea and nay*, *an't please your worship*.¹¹ Socially, then, the speech of the London region might be divided into upper-class (Henry), middle-class (the Pages and the Fords, with Justice Shallow of Windsor possibly of humbler origins: “Now has he land and beeves” says Falstaff — but he had not when he was younger), and lower-middle or lower-class (Quickly, Rugby, Simple and the carriers). The speech of the Host is ambiguous, and that of Falstaff, apparently upper-class, is affected by the use of cant terms. These distinctions need to be remembered, but probably affect lexis to a limited extent; again, the few indications that Quickly's pronunciation was lower-class are too trivial to consider. After region and class, intelligence and personality may affect language and be recorded by the dramatist: lack of intelligence is suggested by the confused syntax and the malapropisms of Quickly, and by the prolixity of Shallow; personality is suggested by the eccentric and affected language of “my ranting Host of the Garter” and of the “drawling, affecting rogue” Nym, as well as by the aggressive and violent vituperation of Pistol, “the foul-mouthedest rogue in England,” and of Doll Tearsheet who, like the whore of Hamlet's imaginings, “unpacks her heart with words.”¹² Less obvious aspects of personality are indicated by the semantic fields from which individual speakers draw their metaphors. Ford, the sportsman, uses hunting terminology in daily life, as when, begging his friends to follow him in the search for a concealed Falstaff, he adds “If I cry out thus upon no trail, never trust me when I open again” (*MW* 4.2.212).

While region and social class, intelligence and personality are factors affecting the language of an individual as a whole, they are not unique to the spoken language and will not, therefore, be further discussed here; although they are all, and especially social class, of great interest and importance. It is hoped that a complete investigation of these topics in relation to Shakespeare's language will be made elsewhere; only occasional comments will appear here on any point of special interest. Assuming then, that each speaker — especially for the purposes of drama — uses his own form of language, we may turn to the consideration of spoken as opposed to written language as it is manifested in all varieties of speech. Spoken language is distinguished in three major respects:

- I. Spoken language evolves within a given situation, e.g. a domestic conversation over the dinner table or a formal interview over an office desk.
- II. Nearly all spoken language (apart from the monologues of lecture or sermon) involves at least two participants within a situation who will

use language which is appropriate to their attitudes to one another, to the situation, and to any messages which are conveyed within the situation.

- III. Because the linguistic symbols in use are spoken, they are both ephemeral and to some extent dependent on the physical ability of the speaker to produce them, in a way in which graphic symbols are not (e.g. in the juxtaposition of certain consonants). They are also open to influence by stress, rhythm and intonation.

These three characteristics of speech determine linguistic form in a number of ways:

- I. Since speech arises in and from a situation,
- (1) for certain situations, which recur frequently, certain "ritual" forms of language will occur, e.g. situations of meeting, parting, eating, drinking. These "ritual" utterances will automatically occur and will function not referentially but phatically; i.e. their "message" serves only to establish, prolong or discontinue communication.
 - (2) Secondly, speech within a situation needs to be less explicit than written language. Certain syntactic elements may depend either on gesture or, without repetition, on an earlier utterance by another speaker, and may thus be omitted from the structure.
 - (3) Since speech represents some kind of interchange between two speakers within a situation, various linguistic devices will reflect that interchange or, as it has also been described, that "orientation toward the addressee" — the "conative" function of language.¹⁹ This orientation is expressed by
 - (a) the use of questions and commands, which both require a reaction from the other participant, and of exclamations which, although not demanding any definite response, normally need the presence of another person for utterance.
 - (b) It is also denoted by terms of address which stand outside the syntactic structure of the sentence, and which in some languages are marked by a special "vocative" form.
 - (c) Interchange is also indicated by the form called traditionally the "ethic dative."
 - (d) Finally, "orientation towards the addressee" will of necessity include constant expression of mutual attitudes through lexical selection.
- II. The preceding section describes the inherent features of dialogue; since two human beings are engaged in dialogue, they will choose the exponents of those features which express their attitudes towards all aspects of the situation and to one another. Sometimes the exponents chosen will indicate attitudes appropriate to permanent relationships, such as parent to child or servant to master; sometimes they will express temporary attitudes such as politeness, formality, anger or dislike, which often overlap both with one another and with

the permanent attitudes. Reactions towards the communication, on the speaker's part, can also include the desire for emphasis; and, on the listener's part, they may be favourable or unfavourable. Pleasure, displeasure and astonishment are the commonest reactions to the situation which can find linguistic expression.

- III. Inherent in speech as a medium of discourse are the two features of impermanence and the special requirements of physical utterance. Associated with impermanence is a lack of premeditation. The latter may cause the speaker to enter on a structure which is too complex for the limitations on memory imposed by the lack of written record; but there is no unsaying what has been said, and the speaker can only begin again, attempt to finish the construction by means which are at variance with any written form he would select, or stop with the construction unfinished. Whatever the precise result, there will be a divergence between the speaker's "competence" and his "performance," although such a divergence is far more likely in monologue than in the short structures which are more characteristic of conversational exchange. Other results of lack of premeditation are repetition of structures or of the message in a different form and, naturally, hesitations and pauses which are sometimes replaced by words and phrases with no real referential meaning—"pause-fillers." One special kind of repetition has the function of avoiding ambiguity and assisting the memory in coping with the impermanence of speech — this is cross-reference, i.e. the placing of (generally) subject or object at the beginning of an utterance, and repeating it later as a pronoun. The initial reference acts as a "title."

The other salient feature of the spoken mode of discourse, in contrast with the written, is the physical fact of utterance which may lead to the choice of certain syntactic or morphological forms on grounds of ease of pronunciation. It may also lead to divergences between spoken and written realizations of linguistic symbols where the former are subject to loss of stress in speech.¹⁴

The remainder of this paper is an attempt to illustrate these characteristics of speech in the prose portions of the Falstaff plays. It does not attempt to offer an analysis of the speech of every person in the drama as a reflection of social class or regional dialect—which would provide material for a book; nor does it give statistics of occurrences, which would not be especially meaningful. It matters little exactly how often Mistress Quickly exclaims "I warrant you" or "Indeed"; what is of interest is that these are her exponents for "pause-filler" and "exclamation" and that they occur frequently. Normally only one example of each form is quoted, unless it is in strong or unexpected contrast to Mod. Eng. usage, and occasional reference will be made to the phrase-books.

I. LANGUAGE AND SITUATION

1. The use of ritual utterances

The prevalence of elaborate ritual formulae in common situations of daily life was a feature of Elizabethan culture which is illustrated in the

Falstaff plays and in the phrase-books. Certain formulae—greetings and farewells, for example, are quite clearly essential, but others, such as those for disclaiming precedence, are unnecessary to the carrying out of daily life, and seem to have met with some resistance even at the time. One of these may be mentioned before the essential formulae are described; it is used by the affected Slender who has just refused to enter the Pages' house at Windsor before his host's daughter, Anne. After much discussion, he finally complies, saying:

DI.1.328¹⁵ I'll rather be unmannerly than troublesome.

Similar formulae are found in the phrase books, and they are of special interest because they are sometimes associated with disclaimers, e.g. Florio: "I pray you let vs leaue these cerimonies a parte, as more beseeing our counterfaite courtiers at this daye, than our pure and vnsported friendship." To which the second speaker replies: "I am an enemie vnto cerimonies . . . They ought not to be vsed among friends"¹⁶

(a) Greeting formulae

These are naturally of frequent occurrence on the stage. They include general formulae of friendship valid at any time of day, blessings, and references to the time of day.

(i) General formulae of friendship:

How now, which may be returned, answered by another formula, or not returned at all, e.g.:

D2.1.199 P¹⁷ How now, mine host! Ho How now, bully rook!

B5.3.85 F How now, Pistol! Pi Sir John, God save you, sir!

D2.1.151 P How now, Meg! MP Whither go you, George?

Well met, answered by another formula or not at all:

C2.1.1 B Well met, Corporal Nym. N Good morrow,
Lieutenant . . .

D3.2.53 P Well met, Master Ford. Fo Trust me, a good knot.

Welcome, answered by another formula or not at all.

B3.2.93 S Welcome, good Sir John. F I am glad to see you well.

(ii) Blessings:

God save you. In spite of its apparent formality, it was a common greeting mentioned by Morose (Jonson, *Silent Woman*, V, i) as "come to be a habit in our lives." It is answered by repetition or by another formula, and is often abbreviated:

B2.2.80 B God save your Grace! H And yours, most noble Bardolph.

B2.4.117 Pi God save you, Sir John! F Welcome, Ancient Pistol!

D2.3.19 S Save you, Master Doctor Caius! (no reply).

Bless you (thee), answered by repetition or not at all:

D2.2.162 Fo Bless you, sir! F And you, sir.

D2.3.18 Ho Bless thee, bully doctor! (no reply).

(iii) References to the time of day:

For purposes of greeting, the day was divided into times before and after noon, i.e. *morrow* and *even*.

Good day occurs only in verse and in regional speech. (It is used by Jamy, the Scots captain in *Henry V.*)

Good time of day.

B1.2.107 F God give your lordship good time of day (no reply). *Good morrow* is the normal morning greeting (*good morning* very rarely occurs in Shakespeare). Only an abbreviated form occurs in the Falstaff plays, but the full form is recorded in Florio: "God giue you good morrowe" (Florio 2, p.15). It is usually reciprocated, or not answered:

D2.2.36 Q Give your worship good morrow. F Good morrow, good wife.

Good even is also recorded here only in abbreviated form; the full form is in Florio: "God geue you good euen" (Florio 1, p.25).

D2.1.202 S Good even and twenty, good Master Page!

The numeral indicates warmth of feeling, cf. Eliot "God night and a thousand to euerybody" (op. cit., p.20). A common abbreviation elsewhere, though here only with Fluellen, is *God-den* (C3.2.93).

(b) Formulae following greeting

These formulae have been largely preserved, referring as they do to the welfare of the other speaker and his family, or to pleasure at meeting.

(i) *How doth:*

Most speakers, in accordance with what seems to be received Mod. Eng. practice, do not reply:

B3.2.3 S And how doth my good cousin Silence?

Si Good morrow, good cousin Shallow.

S And how doth my cousin, your bedfellow?

It may be socially significant that Q replies elaborately:

D1.4.139 Fe How now, good woman! how dost thou?

Q The better, that it pleases your good worship to ask. and that, later, Fe does not; Q uses the 3rd person to him:

D3.4.34 Q And how does good Master Fenton?

Alternatively, a comment is made on apparent health:

B3.2.92 S By my troth, you look well.

(ii) *An enquiry for news:*

B2.4.388 Po Peto, how now! what news?

B2.4.405 F How now! what's the matter?

(iii) *I am glad to see:*

D1.1.83 S Master Page, I am glad to see you.

B5.1.62 B I am glad to see your worship.

(iv) *An early stirrer:*

This was a very common remark made on meeting in the morning(cf. C4.1.6)

B3.2.2 S An early stirrer, by the rood!

(v) *A comment on the weather:*

Such comments are surprisingly rare, although *Littleton* gives a list for use by guests after arrival:¹⁸

B3.2.102 F Fie! this is hot weather, gentlemen.

(c) Parting formulae

Like greetings these are very varied, and include invitations to leave in company with the speaker, blessings and dismissals.

(i) *Invitations to leave:*

- D2.1.159 MF Will you go, Mistress Page? MP Have with you.
 D3.2.95 Fo Will you go, gentles? All Have with you to see
 this . . .
 D2.1.237 Ho Here, boys, here, here! shall we wag? P Have
 with you. (*Wag* = stir, move.)
 C2.3.48 N Shall we shog? Pi Come, let's away. (*Shog* — also
shog off C2.1.47 — was very rare: it was derived from
 ME *shogge* "shake." Probably slang usage here.)
 B4.3.143 F Come away (= *come along*).

(ii) *Forms of blessing and good wishes:*

Farewell and *adieu* seem to have been interchangeable, and could be used together. *God be with you* is surprisingly rare, not being recorded as a parting formula until the late 16th century (*OED*). It is used, somewhat ironically, by H to Pi after the latter had insulted him, and by Fluellen in the form "God be wi' you" (C5.1.70). Florio gives it as an alternative greeting to "God saue you" (Florio 1, p.27), but Mason quotes it as a parting formula with the spelling *God boui*.¹⁹ *Bless you* is used by S:

B3.2.315 Sir John, the Lord bless you!

Peace be with you by Q:

D3.5.57 Peace be with you, sir.

(iii) *References to the time:*

Both *Good night* and *Good morrow* occur, as is shown by a conversation in the early hours:

A2.4.580 Sheriff Good night, my noble lord.

H I think it is good morrow, is it not?

Sheriff Indeed, my lord, I think it be two o'clock.

and on leaving shortly afterwards, H and Peto exchange *Good morrow*.

(iv) *Dismissals:*

There are varying degrees of politeness in dismissing a servant or intimates:

D3.3.19 MF Be gone.

D3.5.56 F (to Q) Well, be gone.

A2.2.48 F Out, you rogue!

B1.2.102 F Hence! avaunt!

The last instance is frequently used in dismissing dogs.

(d) *Formulae used after parting words*

D2.2.138 F Fare thee well: commend me to them both.

D1.4.164 Fe If thou seest her before me, commend me.

The phrase books show *commend* used in beginning a conversation in the form *I commend me to you*).

B2.4.412 F Farewell, good wenches . . . D Have a care of
 thyself.

(e) *Formulae associated with drinking*

A popular setting in the Elizabethan drama is the tavern, and some of the most realistic dialogue is associated with it—especially with the Boar's Head in Eastcheap and the Garter Tavern at Windsor, which appear in the Falstaff plays. These also contain a drinking scene set in Justice Shallow's

garden in Gloucestershire. Shakespeare devises part of a scene to demonstrate the limited language of tapsters, the joke being at the expense of Francis:

A2.4.25 one that never spake other English in his life than—"Eight shillings and sixpence," and—"You are welcome," with this shrill addition,—“Anon, anon, sir!”

and in this scene the tapster's language consists in large part of the latter phrase, in answer to repeated calls from Poin. (*You are welcome* is the innkeeper's regular greeting in the phrase-books.) Toasts were drunk to the accompaniment of a formula, which is given by Florio: "We will pledge you euerie one most hartelie" (Florio 2, p.55). This is recorded from 1546 and may have been somewhat old-fashioned by c.1600 since it occurs only in verse, in a very formal context, in the Falstaff plays (B4.2.73). The other formula given in the phrase-books is "I drinke to all the companie" which is also rare here, and possibly, in view of the age of S, old-fashioned:

B5.3.59 S I'll drink to Master Bardolph.

The formulae used by Falstaff are:

B2.4.118 Here, Pistol, I charge you with a cup of sack.

to which Pi does not reply directly, but later turns to D and says:

B2.4.128 Then to you, Mistress Dorothy; I will charge you.

B5.3.24 F I'll give you a health for that anon.

B5.3.52 F Health and long life to you, Master Silence.

When a sufficient amount of liquor had been consumed by the other speaker, the formula in use was:

B5.3.74 F Why, now you have done me right.

If there was any break in the drinking it was customary to call out to the drinkers *Hem!* Eliot also gives this in the form *ha-hem*, (op. cit. p.41) and the practice is mentioned by the Prince in his comment on the tapsters' speech:

A2.4.17 When you breathe in your watering, they cry "hem!" and bid you play it off.

Shallow, referring to the days of his riotous youth, recalls:

B3.2.234 Our watch-word was, "Hem, boys!"

and when Doll, having drunk too much wine, answers an enquiry about her health, she replies:

B2.4.33 Better than I was: hem!

The exclamation was probably intended to represent the clearing of the throat preparatory to taking a long draught; another, mentioned only once, is fairly common in other Elizabethan plays:

A2.4.126 H "Rivo!" says the drunkard.

It was probably derived from Spanish *arriba* "up."

(f) **Formulae associated with meals**

The Falstaff plays contain both invitations to meals and scenes in which some kind of food and drink is served. F asks Master Gower:

B2.1.198 Shall I entreat you with me to dinner?

(*entreat* occurring in the phrase books, although more often collocated with *company*), and Fo asks more directly:

D3.2.54 I have good cheer at home; and I pray you all go with me. *Good cheer* was the regular collocation, used by both guest and host with reference to the meal; cf. Florio: "Come and dine with me . . . I thanke you, I wil come: what good cheare shal I haue?" (Florio 1, p.35) and *Fr. Sch.*: "Now eate, and make good cheere."²⁰ The invitation accepted, the servant is requested to lay the table:

B5.3.9 S Spread, Davy.

This is perhaps slightly more old-fashioned than Eliot's "Cover the Table" (op. cit. p.35), which is also found in the Falstaff plays in the 1st Drawer's instructions to his fellow:

B2.4.11 Why then, cover, and set them down [i.e. dishes].

The host invites his guests to table:

B3.2.105 S Will you sit?

and the meal begins, after grace, with a formula which is roughly equivalent to *Bon appetit*! The common formula is *Much good may it do you*, which may also be uttered at the end of a meal. When P thanks him for his gift of venison, S replies:

D1.1.84 Much good do it your good heart!

and with comic effect Fluellen, forcing Pi to eat a leek, exclaims:

C5.1.55 Much good do you.

Sixteenth-century books of manners such as Seager's *School of Virtue* and Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*²¹ advocate the use of the formula at the beginning or end of the meal, and it is even made the occasion for a jest in Marston's *What you Will* (ed. H. Wood, II, 285):

Sim. (rising from table) I must needs rise, much good do it you.

Qua. Doost thou thinke thy rising will do them much good?

The alternative formula was *Proface*, from Italian *pro vi faccia*. The *OED* examples suggest that its life was fairly short (recorded from 1515 to 1638), although it must have been common at one time as an occurrence in the *Gull's Horn Book* would imply: "in stead of *Grace*, every one drew out a knife . . . and cryed *Proface* you mad *Rogues*, and so fell to."²² It is used by Davy (B5.3.28).

(g) Summoning

A frequent occurrence in drama is the summoning of a character off-stage; the most common formula, used in entirely serious contexts, is *What ho!*:

D4.2.9 MP What ho! gossip Ford! what ho!

More frequently used to servants is *What*:

D3.3.1 MF What, John! what, Robert!

Attention is also attracted by *ho* alone:

D1.4.136 Fe Who's within there? ho!

and an impatient summons is expressed by *why*:

B5.1.8 S Why, Davy! (a second call).

Finally, *I say*—the only form to survive in Standard English—is used alone or in combination:

B5.1.2. S What! Davy, I say.

(h) Handing over an object

A formula which hardly exists now in English, but which is so common in other languages that foreign students usually invent it for us, is some kind of utterance on handing something to another person, e.g. Swedish *Var så god!*, French *S'il vous plaît*. The Elizabethan Englishman used a very simple formula, *Hold! There is x for you*, which occurs very frequently indeed, not only in the drama, where it might be thought of as a device to aid stage business, but also in the phrase books, where it occurs in normal conversation. Only one example need be given:

D1.4.162 Fe Hold, there's money for thee.

(i) Hue and cry

Another formula which has disappeared was one necessitated by the processes of Elizabethan justice—the pursuit of thieves by the constables and their demand for assistance from the onlookers. When Ho loses his horses to the “Germans” he cries out in distraction:

D4.5.94 Fly, run, hue and cry, villain!

Hue and cry, of AN origin, is first recorded in an English context in 1502: “One persone . . . that wyll not helpe . . . officers . . . when hue and crye is made . . .” is liable to be punished. After the first call of *hue and cry*, the constables summoned help in the words used by the Host elsewhere:

D3.1.113 Follow me . . . follow, follow, follow.

But if the thief had friends in the crowd he might make his escape, when the cry would go up which was made by the sheriff's officer Fang when he feared that B was about to defend his intended prisoner:

B2.1.63 A rescue! a rescue!

(j) Telling the time

Methods of computing time naturally enough differ, and so involve a change of formula. What is strange, however, is our retention of an archaic formula in an answer to a question about time, but not in the question itself:

A2.1.36 G What's o'clock? 1st C. I think it be two o'clock.

Other references to time in the Falstaff plays are:

A2.1.1 1st C An't be not four by the day (=in the morning, a.m.). . .

A2.1.20 1st C . . . since the first cock (=midnight).

The Arden edition (A, p. 38) comments on the conventional times of cock-crow used in computing the hour: 1st cock was midnight, 2nd cock was 3 a.m. and 3rd cock an hour before day.

(k) Miscellaneous

Finally, there is a large number of utterances appropriate to various less clearly-defined situations; some of the more important are listed here. Excusing oneself:

D3.5.27 Q I cry you mercy.

D1.1.319 Fo You shall not choose, sir.

Thanking someone:

A pressing invitation:

D1.1.86 S I thank you always with my heart.

Offering assistance:

B3.2.65 S What is your good pleasure with me?

Brief thanks (ironically):

A3.3.58 F God-a-mercy!

2. The interdependence of speech and situation allows spoken language to be less explicit than written

The "ideal" sentence of the written language contains NP + VP (functioning as S and Pred.) but the spoken language may occur without one or the other, e.g. without VP:

A2.2.69 Peto How many be there of them?

G Some eight or ten.

without subject NP:

B2.4.298 F Shalt have a cap tomorrow. (This is the reading only of Quarto; Folio "improves" to "Thou shalt.")

This example may be analogous to the Mod. Eng. loss of subject pronoun at the beginning of a main clause which is not preceded by a co-ordinating conjunction, e.g.:

What did he say?

Don't really remember.

where the place of the pronoun may be "supplied" by a gesture or glance. The loss of the 1st person pronoun seems to have resulted in the common collocation *pray you/God/heaven* as in:

D4.2.118 2nd Ser Pray heaven, it be not full . . .

and there is one indisputable example, not corrected in the Folio, in *The Tempest*, 2.2.136:

Ste Here: swear then, how thou escapedst.

Trin Swam ashore, man, like a duck.

Otherwise, regular loss of the pronoun subject is confined to the *thou* forms in questions, e.g.:

B2.4.297 F What stuff wilt have a kirtle of? (F=wilt thou).

A2.1.32 1st C Canst not hear? . . . hast no faith in thee?

A2.1.43 2nd C Ay, when? canst tell?

But this apparent loss may merely reflect the assimilation of the initial consonant of the pronoun to the final consonant of the verb and the failure of the compositor (or author) to record the unstressed vowel. Assimilation and lack of stress is indicated by the form of the final pronoun in:

B2.1.65 Q Thou wo't, wo't ta? (=wilt).²³

Loss of *thou* is very common; evidence for the loss of the 3rd person pronoun is scanty, but it may be suggested by the following:

A2.1.13 1st C Poor fellow! never joyed since the price of oats rose. Here also the compositor may have failed to show the unstressed form of the pronoun, normally spelt *a*; alternatively the punctuation adopted by Arden makes *fellow* the subject of *joyed*. On the whole the evidence suggests that, as in Mod. Eng., the personal pronoun subject might disappear in the spoken language.

Another instance of the less explicit nature of the spoken language is the frequent occurrence of structures where VP contains only an auxiliary verb, the finite lexical verb being contained in the previous utterance. These are, of course, equally common in Mod. Eng. as response sentences, but

the exponents differ. In Elizabethan English the first element, *Ay*, *Yes*, *Nay*, *No*, depended on agreement or disagreement with a positive or negative verb in the preceding utterance; the second element was frequently an asseveration (the commonest being *marry*), and NP and V were subject to inversion in certain conditions. A fuller account appears elsewhere;²⁴ a few examples are:

- D2.1.186 Fo Does he lie at the Garter? P Ay, marry, does he.
 D1.1.156 F Did you pick . . . Slender's purse? Sl Ay, by these gloves, did he.
 D4.2.216 MP He beat him . . . pitifully. MF Nay, by the mass, that he did not.
 C2.3.29 N They say he cried out of sack. Q Ay, that a' did.
 C2.3.32 Q Nay, that a' did not. Boy Yes, that a' did.

3. Interchange between two speakers in a situation

Mutual awareness, or "orientation towards the addressee," is given linguistic expression by various devices.

(a) Questions, commands, exclamations

Questions are characteristic of the spoken language, although they can of course occur in a few forms of the written, e.g. official documents and questionnaires. In addition to questions demanding information (for which Elizabethan English has a choice between inversion and *do*-structures), there are also question tags denoting the speaker's desire for an opinion or approval, e.g.:

- B3.2.11 S He is at Oxford still, is he not?
 and echo questions (sometimes punctuated as exclamations):
 B2.4.44 F You make fat rascals, Mistress Doll.
 D I make them! . . . I make them not.

Commands are also appropriate to the spoken language, and again the Elizabethan speaker had a wider range of forms from which to choose than we have now. The selection of the appropriate question or command depended on emotional or linguistic factors, which will be discussed below (p. 55). Exclamations are also characteristic of the spoken language, and the Falstaff plays are rich in exclamatory utterances of all kinds. Where they have sentence form, they may differ from Mod. Eng. in structure, although the commonest, as now, take *how* or *what a* as the initial element, e.g.:

- A2.4.587 H Hark, how hard he fetches breath.
 B2.4.312 H What a life dost thou lead!

Other exclamatory sentences have *if*, *O that*, *to x* as initial elements:

- C.2.1.38 Q O well-a-day, Lady! if he be not drawn now.
 D2.1.102 MF O, that my husband saw this letter!
 B3.2.37 S To see how many of mine old acquaintance are dead!

Exclamations introduced by *how* and *what a* take inversion of NP and V where V = an auxiliary.

(b) Forms of address

The most obvious evidence of mutual awareness is the use of forms of address which occur outside the syntactic structure of the sentence as

"vocatives." These forms of address may consist of personal names, terms of family relationship, generic names (*man*, *boy*), names of occupations, titles of courtesy, endearments and terms of abuse, and the personal pronouns. The following is a list of such terms; their use, dependent on emotional factors, will be discussed below (p. 56).

Elizabethan English is extremely rich in terms of address, particularly since, like some modern Europeans, Englishmen of c.1600 liked to assign a man his place in the social hierarchy when addressing him in a fairly formal manner. If no title of occupation was available, some other designation was desired, even if as meaningless as *neighbour*. Modern and Elizabethan forms of address also differ grammatically because of the possibility in Elizabethan usage of colligating adjective and personal name (now reserved mainly for adjectives of a limited class in post-position, e.g. *John dear*). The Elizabethan adjectives also belonged to a limited class, *sweet*, *good*, *honest*, *gentle*, *fair*, but they occurred very frequently indeed.

(i) *Personal names* were used as now, except that both Christian and surname are often used in direct address:

C4.1.88 Court Brother John Bates, is not that the morning?

D1.1.240 S Cousin Abraham Slender, can you love her?

D2.3.101 C Come at my heels, Jack Rugby.

(ii) *Terms of relationship* were more commonly used than now:

C2.1.93 Q Good husband, come home presently.

D4.2.193 MF Nay, good sweet husband!

D1.1.201 P Wife, bid these gentlemen welcome.

D4.2.128 Fo What, wife, I say!

D5.5.194 Sl Father Page! (to a future father-in-law).

D5.2.2 Fo Remember, son Slender (to a future son-in-law).

D1.1.195 P Nay, daughter, carry the wine in.

B3.2.228 S Cousin Silence . . .

D1.1.213 S Come, coz; come, coz.

D3.4.39 Sl Pray you, uncle . . .

Cousin was normally followed by a personal name; when alone, it was usually abbreviated. *Cousin* and *uncle* were used fairly vaguely — Sl uses both terms in addressing S, probably because of the latter's seniority which seemed to require *uncle*. *Cousin* also seems to have been interchangeable with *nephew* and *grandchild* (cf. *Othello* 1.1.112).

(iii) *Generic terms of address* also contrast with modern usage: *Man* is used in singular and plural:

D1.4.96 Q Notwithstanding, man, I'll do your master . . .

D1.4.38 Q Run in here, good young man.

D4.2.153 Fo Empty the basket, I say! MF Why, man, why?

C2.2.126 Q Sweet men, come to him.

Woman occurs in the singular only:

D1.4.139 Fe How now, good woman!

D2.2.96 F Woman, commend me to her.

D2.1.43 MP What's the matter, woman?

Gentleman is used in singular and plural, and is also abbreviated:

B5.3.108 S Honest gentleman, I know not your breeding.

B3.2.324 F Fare you well, gentle gentlemen.

D3.2.95 Fo Will you go, gentles?

Gentlewoman is rare in the Falstaff plays, but is the normal term of address to a woman in the phrase-books:

B2.4.382 H (to D) You, gentlewoman, . . .

Boy is the term of address to a page, and metaphorically to adults:

D2.2.140 F Boy, go along with this woman.

B5.5.48 F (to H) My sweet boy!

D2.1.237 Ho Here, boys, here, here!

Lad occurs here only with reference to adults:

A1.2.44 F (to H) Thou sayest true, lad.

D1.3.40 F (to Pi and B) My honest lads . . .

Maid is used to an unmarried girl and *wench* to a woman of any age:

D5.5.243 MP Why went you not with Master doctor, maid?

B2.4.409 F You see, my good wenches . . .

(iv) *Terms of address indicating occupation:*

Justice LCJ is addressed by his title (B5.5.49) and Justice Shallow is so addressed by Ho, though others use *Master*:

D2.1.201 Caveliero-justice, I say!

Knight was used in direct address:

D5.5.186 P Yet be cheerful, knight.

B2.4.199 Pi Sweet knight, I kiss thy neif.

Esquire is used by S himself, and by others (no doubt ironically):

B4.3.140 F There will I visit Master Robert Shallow, esquire.

The title was applicable to all who bore arms, and (in D1.1.) SI points out that S was *armiger*.

Innkeepers were always addressed as *mine host* and their wives as *hostess* (D passim, and A2.4.309 F Hostess, clap to the doors).

Military ranks mentioned in the Falstaff plays are:

Captain (Fluellen), *Ancient* = Ensign (P), *Lieutenant* (B), *Corporal* (N).

Lieutenant is used in address (not *Mr* e.g. C2.1.2), and a private is addressed as *Soldier* (e.g. C4.7.126). Ranks seemed to have caused some difficulty to the uneducated:

B3.2.247 Mouldy And, good Master corporal captain . . .

B3.2.190 Bullcalf Good my lord captain . . .

B3.2.238 Bullcalf Good Master Corporate Bardolph . . .

Other occupations used in address:

D2.3.18 Ho Bully doctor!

D1.4.81 Q Parson Hugh . . .

B2.4.108 F Call him up, drawer.

B3.2.171 F Well said, good woman's tailor!

A2.1.36 G Good morrow, carriers.

A2.1.30 1st C What, ostler!

(Sometimes names of occupations function as surnames:

B5.1.11 S William cook, bid him come hither.)

Other designations:

A2.1.49 2nd C Come, neighbour Mugs.

B2.4.93 Q "Neighbour Quickly," says he.

C4.1.88 Court Brother John Bates . . .

D4.2.195 MP Come, Mother Prat (a form frequently used to elderly women of the lower classes; cf. *Mother Hubbard*).

(v) *Titles of courtesy*, which include direct and indirect terms of address. The indirect forms still survive, but in very limited use:

A3.3.120 Q (to H) I heard your Grace say so.

B1.2.128 F (to Lord Chief J.) An't please your lordship . . .

D2.2.36 Q (to F) Give your worship good morrow.

Your worship was very common, and may have functioned syntactically as a 2nd person:

D1.4.152 Q Have not your worship a wart?

There was a very large set of titles, several of which have not survived: *Lord* occurs passim in the forms *my lord*, *good my lord*, *my good lord*.

Lady, originally the female equivalent of *lord*, became widened in application to the wife of a gentleman, often referred to as *my lady your wife* (OED 1528). It was a much-coveted title: Dekker notes that citizens' widows long to marry knights and would give £100 to be "dubbed ladies" (Arden, B, p. 51). Mrs Q shares their wish; she upbraids F because he swore to "marry me and make me my lady thy wife" (B2.1.103). F promises the same to MF: "I would thy husband were dead . . . I would make thee my lady" (D3.3.52); Q obtains her wish once when, no doubt ironically, H addresses her as "my lady the hostess" (A2.4.319). S asks B concerning F in the correct terms "how my lady his wife doth" (B3.2.72).

Sir is an unstressed form of *sire* used regularly before the Christian name of a priest (from mid-14th to mid-17th century) as the translation of *dominus* (the title of a graduate); it was also the distinctive title of a knight or baronet. *Sir Hugh* is a form of address to the parson in D, and *Sir John* occurs passim for Falstaff.

Madam was another title coveted by women; as early as the 14th century it was noted as an advantage gained by a citizen's wife when her husband became an alderman (*Cant. Tales*, Prol. 376). It was the correct form of address to the wives of lords and knights; Shakespeare satirizes its misuse by the ignorant in *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii, 110; Sly the tinker is induced to believe that he is a lord and meets his "wife":

Sly What must I call her?

Lord Madam.

Sly Al'ce madam, or Joan madam?

Lord Madam, and nothing else: so lords call ladies.

Mrs Q, speaking of her expected marriage to F, alleges that F said she should break off her friendship with the butcher's wife and such poor people, who "ere long . . . should call me madam" (B2.1.112).

Master was a title originally prefixed to the name of men of rank, but by the 16th century it had been extended to all gentlemen, whether by birth or by virtue of their office, e.g. Master Tisick the Deputy, and Master Fang and Master Snare the sheriff's officers; Eliot comments: "Maister Sergeant (for he is a gentleman by his office)" (op. cit. p. 99). The sheriff himself is "Master Sheriff" (A2.4.562), the page-boy is "Master page" (B5.3.27), and the Ho is affected enough to address someone as "Master guest" (D2.3.75). The title also belongs to doctors and parsons (*Master doctor Caius* and *Master parson Evans*). Generally, there is a very clear class-distinction in its use; it is never prefixed to the name of a servant such as Simple, Davy and Rugby, nor to the names of the countrymen being re-

cruited for the militia, Mouldy, Bullcalf, Feeble, Shadow. It is, however, somewhat surprisingly, used for citizens like Master Dombledon and Master Smooth the silk merchants. The exact use of this title also caused some problems for the uneducated; Dogberry instructs Verges to write down the name of their prisoner as "Master gentleman Conrade" (*Much Ado*, 4.2.18).

Mistress, originally a title distinguishing gentlewomen, is here used for all women, whether married or single, and of whatever rank; it is applied equally to the wives of P and Fo, and P's daughter Anne, to the Hostess Q (a servant of Dr Caius in D) and to the prostitute Doll. It can precede the Christian name alone (*Mistress Doll* B2.4.38) as well as the surname or both names (*Mistress Anne Page* D1.1.48).

Sirrah seems to be related to *sir*, although its etymology is obscure. It seems to have answered the need for a respectful form of address to a youth not yet old enough to be called *master*:

D4.1.21 MP (to her son William) Come on, sirrah.
and to page-boys:

B2.4.408 F (to page) Pay the musicians, sirrah.

It is also used, without any apparent lack of respect, with the names of occupations:

A2.1.46 G Sirrah carrier, what time do you mean to come?

Goodman, which is first recorded in 1340 as the title of the master of an establishment, is later (1484) prefixed to designations of occupation — "a good man labourer." In describing the status of yeomen, Sir Thomas Smith notes: "These [yeomen] be not called masters, for that . . . pertaineth to Gentlemen only. But to their surnames men adde Goodman . . . amongst their neighbors, I meane not in matters of importance or in lawe" (*OED*). There are two occurrences: reference is made to "Goodman Puff of Barson" (B5.3.91) and "Goodman Adam" (A2.4.107).

Goodwife is recorded from 1325 for the mistress of a house, but as *mistress* was so widely used in the 16th century for all women, possibly *goodwife*, as a title of address, was slightly derogatory by c.1600. Q's reference to a neighbour (whose acquaintance she ought to shun if she were married to F) as "Goodwife Keech" suggests the lowliness of the neighbour's status; on the other hand, F addresses Q herself (as servant of Dr Caius) as "good wife" (D2.2.37). The title remains as *Goody* in *Goody Two-Shoes*.

Dame, like other titles, originally belonged only to women of rank, but became extended in application. It was still officially in 1614 (*OED*) the title of a knight's wife, but had already become degraded in meaning to "old woman," perhaps because of the traditional collocation with *Partlet*. The name was applied to fussy, scolding women, and is used by F in addressing Q:

A3.3.60 How now, Dame Partlet the hen!

(vi) *Terms of endearment and abuse* occur profusely in the Falstaff plays, but the latter are very much more frequent. As these terms are chosen in accordance with the participants' mutual attitudes, their use will be discussed below (p. 58).

(vii) *Personal pronouns* are, of course, the most common form of address. The choice between *you* and *thou* depended largely upon mutual

attitudes, whether permanent (e.g. master to servant) or temporary; usage will be discussed below (p. 59).

(c) **Ethic dative**

Interchange and mutual awareness between two speakers can be indicated by a reference to one or other speaker which has no meaningful place within the structure of a sentence, i.e. by the device known traditionally as the "ethic dative." It occurs very frequently in F's speech:

A2.4.227 I made me no more ado.

D1.3.63 I have writ me here a letter to her.

You as an "ethic dative" is characteristic of S's speech:

B3.2.304 A' would manage you his piece . . . and come you in, and come you in.

B3.2.52 And carried you a forehead shaft.

The use of *you(r)* = *one(s)* is analogous to the "ethic dative" in effect, and also occurs in the speech of both F and S:

B1.2.189 F Your ill angel is light.

B3.2.24 S You had not four such swinge-bucklers . . .

(d) Finally, the "**conative**" function of language will of necessity cause the speaker to use a selection of lexis (other than terms of address) appropriate to the emotions which he feels towards the addressee; the choice is, very generally, between formal and intimate ("slang") vocabulary. (See below, Section II 3(d) **Lexis and attitude**.)

II. THE LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF ATTITUDES

For nearly every feature which characterizes spoken language, described in the preceding section, there is a set of exponents from which the speaker makes a selection appropriate to his attitude to the other speaker, the situation and the messages exchanged. Many of these exponents have been described, and some attempt will now be made to show how and when they are selected. Attitudes towards the other speaker are suggested by the choice of ritual formulae, the selection of types of question, command and exclamation, the use of forms of address (when they are not automatically dictated by a man's rank or relationship) and the choice of lexis (e.g. a friendly and informal attitude might involve the use of "slang" terms).

1. The use of ritual utterances

(a) Greeting formulae

The neutral form is *Good morrow*; characteristic of good friends and equals are *How now* and *Well met*, which are used by the F/P group and by F and his close friends. The "blessing" formulae (apart from *God save you*, which is probably neutral in tone) are characteristic of formal and deferential attitudes (S; Fo when disguised as Brook; Q). Especially deferential are the full forms *God give you* . . . (F to LCJ; Q).

(b) Parting formulae

The neutral forms are *Farewell* and *Adieu*; friendly attitudes are indicated by the formulae for leaving together; deference is shown by the "blessing" forms used by Q and S; and the tone of master to servant by *Be gone*.

(c) **Summoning formulae**

Social inferiors are summoned by *What, why, I say*, but equals are called by *What ho* (e.g. MP to MF and vice-versa).

(d) **"Giving" formulae**

Hold seems to have been used only to inferiors. When Q gives F a letter she says only (D4.5.129): "Here is a letter."

2. **The degree of explicitness in speech**

It has already been suggested that speech does not need to be as explicit as writing; it is doubtful however whether the degree of explicitness depends on, or reveals, mutual attitudes.

3. **Orientation towards the addressee**(a) **Questions, commands, exclamations**

Commands and certain questions may denote, as well as awareness of another speaker, an attitude towards that speaker. Certain tag questions can imply irony, annoyance or impatience:

D4.2.185 Fo She comes of errands, does she?

D3.3.215 MF You use me well, Master Ford, do you?

B2.1.65 Q Thou wo't, wo't thou? thou wo't, wo't ta?

These attitudes may be indicated by positive + positive, or negative + negative, and their use is apparently that of current English.

Tag questions asked by the 2nd speaker indicate an attitude of friendly agreement, but occur rarely in Shakespeare:

Troilus 1.2.135 O! he smiles valiantly.

Does he not?

The choice of exponent for commands may reveal courtesy, deference, condescension to a subordinate, or brusqueness. The unmarked form, attested in 16th-century grammars, is V + pronoun:

D2.3.77 Ho Go you through the town.

Courtesy may be expressed by the addition of *Pray you, Prithee*, and deference by the use of a title instead of the pronoun:

B5.3.26 Davy Sweet sir, sit . . . most sweet sir, sit.

Orders to a servant are given without pronoun:

D4.2.153 Fo Empty the basket, I say!

These distinctions, which are not used altogether consistently, are likely to disappear in certain linguistic contexts which are described elsewhere.²⁵

3rd person commands typically reveal attitudes to the extent that they usually represent prayers or blessings, and imprecations, e.g.:

B3.2.315 S Sir John, the Lord bless you!

Such prayers typify the speech of the elderly, e.g. S and Q. Imprecations, which characterize the speech of F and his companions, are usually variations on the verb *hang* — a grim and highly emotive curse in the context of Elizabethan justice; they are more often 2nd person forms:

D3.3.195 MP Hang him, dishonest rascal!

B2.4.57 D Hang yourself, you muddy conger.

A1.2.146 Po Tarry at home and be hanged.

Exclamations, when used excessively as by Q, seem to indicate a naive attitude to the situation or message, rather than to the other speaker.

(b) **Forms of address**

Mutual attitudes are perhaps most clearly indicated by the choice of forms of address. The possible exponents for "vocative" have been described above (pp. 50-51); the following is a summary account of their use in the expression of attitude.

(i) *Personal names*: In the group connected with the "Boar's Head" the use of surnames is common between close (male) friends, even though, as H reports, he is on Christian name terms with the tapsters (A2.4.8). When Christian names are used, as commonly between H and F, and sometimes between H and Po, they are nicknames — *Hal*, *Jack* and *Ned*; F himself comments on this usage:

B2.2.144 *Jack* Falstaff, with my familiars; *John*, with my brothers and sisters, and *Sir John* with all Europe.

In spite of the normal Christian name terms between H and F, H may revert to using *Falstaff* in anger:

A2.4.289 H Falstaff, you carried your guts away . . . nimbly.

To Poins, H and F use surname or Christian name inconsistently, but more usually the surname. The two women are usually addressed as *Mistress Quickly* or *hostess*, and *Mistress Doll* or *Mistress Doll Tearsheet*. In spite of Q's alleged familiarity with F, who is said to have offered her marriage, she invariably addresses him as *Sir John*; but where some genuine affection seems to be implied, as between F and D, they address each other as *Jack* and *Doll*.

In the Gloucestershire group, S and Si, although cousins, never address each other by Christian name alone. F always addresses S as *Master*, but characteristic of his usage is the following example of Christian name + surname:

B5.1.3 You must excuse me, Master Robert Shallow.

Men address their male servants by surname.

In the Windsor group, the two couples are on surprisingly formal terms and always use some kind of title to one another. Wives and husbands rarely use Christian names, although women use Christian names to male servants, e.g. MF to John and Robert, and to Robin the pageboy. Men use surnames, or both names, to servants. The cousins S and Si address each other by some form of title. Pi, B, N and F are on surname terms. This brief survey shows

- (1) by comparison with Mod. Eng., the greater degree of intimacy required to use Christian names;
- (2) the greater likelihood of fluctuation between Christian and surname;
- (3) the possibility of addressing a man by both names. F, in so addressing S, has a slightly condescending air, and it is noticeable that, after his sudden fall from favour and Hal's rejection, he speaks to his companion simply as "Master Shallow."

(ii) *Terms of relationship*: Husbands and wives on good terms call one another by their titles, i.e. *husband* and *wife*, and indicate greater affection by the use of an epithet, e.g. "honey-sweet husband" (Q in C2.3.1). That the use of titles was common is shown, not only by the phrase-books, but also explicitly by Sly the tinker in *The Taming of the Shrew*: "Are you my wife, and will not call me husband?" On being told

that he must address the supposed woman as "madam" he continues: "Madam wife . . ." To imply an unfriendly attitude, a wife would address her husband as *master* + surname, as does MF when she complains to Fo of his ill-treatment, and the husband would reciprocate with "Mistress . . ."

(iii) *Generic terms of address*: *Man* and *woman* are invested with a tone of intimacy or brusqueness according to the context. MF addressing Fo as "man" sounds impatient (D4.2.154) but addressing MP as "woman" (D2.1.44) sounds teasing and friendly. *Lad* applied to a man is, as F himself remarks, a "term of good fellowship."

(iv) *Titles of courtesy*: *Your worship* was commonly used, in moderation, to social superiors, but excessive use marks some kind of attitude, e.g. the wish to flatter (Q to F when engaged in the wives' plot). *Your worship* also indicated polite formality between equals; it is used by Anne Page to the detested Sl to whom, as her father's guest, she is constrained to be polite, but whom she does not wish to encourage (D1.1.277). *Sir*, when used to excess, also marks flattery and excessive deference (Davy to S in B5.1 and B to F in A3.3) but it is a polite form when used in the plural:

B2.4.245 F (to musicians) Play, sirs.

Master was used deferentially:

D1.4.73 Q Good master, be content.

but in the plural as a term of friendship:

A2.2.108 F (to friends) Come, my masters.

B2.4.112 Q (to friends) Feel, masters, how I shake.

Sirrah, if used to anyone other than a boy, or without a title of occupation, denoted either contempt or possibly intimacy. The former is clearly expressed by Fo when he calls F, as he thinks, to leave his hiding-place:

D4.2.146 Come forth, sirrah!

Contemptuous annoyance is denoted by H's use of the term on learning that F has made untrue allegations about him:

A3.3.152 Sirrah! do I owe you a thousand pound?

Contemptuous amusement may be suggested by Po to F who has lost his mount:

A2.2.76 Sirrah Jack, thy horse stands behind the hedge.

but intimacy by H's address to Po:

A2.4.6 Sirrah, I am sworn brother to a leash of drawers.

The drawers also use the term among themselves, possibly to denote good fellowship.

Goodman, being a rank lower than gentleman, came to have a pejorative meaning, so that D addresses the sheriff's officers contemptuously as "Goodman death! goodman bones!" (B5.4.31) in referring to their leanness.

Gossip was a term used only between intimates, although originally it meant a sponsor at baptism. It is a common form of address between MF and MP, and Goodwife Keech addresses Q as "Gossip Quickly"; it is a polite but friendly usage, occurring in the phrase-books (*gossip* and *shee gossip* appear in one).

(v) *Terms of endearment and abuse*: There is a larger set of terms for abuse than for endearment, and they occur more frequently—at least in the Falstaff plays. The most common term of endearment was

heart, which could be used between men and women or between members of the same sex, in singular and plural:

B5.5.48 F My king . . . I speak to thee, my heart!

D4.2.77 F (to women) Good hearts, devise something.

It occurred more often with a prepositional phrase or a preceding adjective: *hearts of gold* is among the terms of "good fellowship" listed by F (A2.4.310) and *heart of elder* is used by Ho (D2.3.30) to Caius, who does not understand that it is an insulting variation on *hearts of oak*. Adjectives which collocate with *heart* are:

poor (C2.1.124) used sympathetically by Q about the dying Falstaff; *old* (C4.1.34) used by H in addressing affectionately an elderly man; *good* (D3.5.39) used by Q and expressive of sympathy towards MF; *sweet*, the most frequent collocation, used by woman to woman, e.g. Q to D (B2.4.24) sympathetically, when D is ill, and by MP to MF (D4.2.12) in greeting — "How now, sweetheart!" It is also used ironically by MF to F (D5.5.26). It could not have been a term of great intimacy, since MF and MP otherwise normally use the formal *you* rather than *thou*.

Other forms of address expressing affection are rare. They include:

wag F (to H) "sweet wag" (A1.2.17, 26, 66), "mad wag" (A1.2.50).

(*Wag* was probably derived from the verb, and is found from 1553.)

bully Ho (to F) D4.5.22 Let her descend, bully.

Ho is addicted to the use of *bully*, and applies it to everyone, of every rank. First recorded in 1538, it was originally applied to both sexes but by 1600 probably only to men, and meant "good friend," "fine fellow." Ho also uses it as an epithet, e.g. *bully knight*, *rook*, *Hector*, *Hercules*.

chuck Pi (to Flu) C3.2.27 Use lenity, sweet chuck!

The term, which may have been a variant of *chick*, is not uncommonly applied to spouses and close friends. Here it is used only by Pi, who is also responsible (C3.2.37) for the very unusual *bawcock* (Fr. *beau coq*).

joy D (to F) B2.4.51, more usually found as *my joy*, is replaced in the Folio by *I marry*, and was therefore in all likelihood obsolete by 1623. D more frequently uses abusive epithets as terms of endearment, e.g. B2.4.232 "You sweet little rogue . . . poor ape . . . you whoreson chops . . . Ah, rogue!"

The large number of terms of abuse answers the requirements of the Falstaff plays, with their violent, aggressive and blustering characters. These terms rarely occur alone but are collocated with a limited (though fairly large) set of adjectives which includes *arrant*, *scurvy*, *filthy*, *lousy* (used by Welsh characters), *muddy*, *whoreson*.

Knave is a favourite term of F, Q and D. When F uses it descriptively and not as a term of address, he adds a number of abusive (and imaginative) epithets which are characteristic of his speech, e.g. *bacon-fed*, *gorbellied*. *Rascal* is frequently used by F and D, and when descriptive is collocated, mainly in F's speech, with unusual epithets, e.g. *fat-kidneyed*, *tripe-visaged*, *bottle-ale*, *cut-purse*, *coney-catching*.

Rogue is undoubtedly a term from thieves' cant, and is used mainly by F. It often occurs without epithet, in the form *you rogue*; but when epithets are used they are again highly unusual, e.g. *frosty-spirited*, *mechanical salt-butter*, *blue-bottle*.

Slave, unlike the three preceding terms, is not very common in address,

although it can occur, e.g. B2.4.153 D "You a captain, you slave!" It is commonly used descriptively.

Varlet is also less commonly used in address, and may be slightly old-fashioned or affected: F, speaking formally in his imitation of H's father, addresses H as "Thou naughty varlet." F also dismisses the sheriff's men with "Away, varlets!" (B2.1.52).

Villain is probably the most frequent term of abuse with characters other than F, though it belongs to his vocabulary too:

D4.2.123 Fo Set down the basket, villains.

There are many other terms of abuse, but they were probably not in common use, e.g. *chops*, *ye fat paunch*, *muddy conger*.

(vi) *The choice between "you" and "thou"*: This subject has been the topic of many investigations and it is not proposed to examine it in detail here; the general rules of usage are stated by Franz (§289).²⁶ A major difficulty for the 20th-century reader is the inconsistency of use by which a speaker may change abruptly from one to the other while still addressing the same person, as is the case with Christian names and surnames. A cursory examination suggests that certain very common collocations tended to retain *thou* forms almost automatically, just as certain common verbal collocations such as *Know you?* retained the older inversion form of the question. It is also possible that considerations of euphony dictated the use of *you* rather than *thou* in some contexts (cf. p. 67 below).

In *The Merry Wives* the norm (or unmarked form) is *you*, except in addressing most servants (e.g. F and Fe to Q, Q to Rugby, MP to Q, although Simple and Robin are normally addressed as *you*, perhaps indicating a higher status for both — as a pageboy, Robin may have belonged to an upper-class family); and in the speech of Pi and Ho, which is clearly an affectation, though it is hard to understand why Fo, at least, does not take exception to being *thou'd* when Pi first calls on him to report his wife's infidelity. Ho reverts to *you* in addressing Fe when he is despondent after the loss of his horses (D4.6.6). Finally, *thou* is used in moments of strong emotion, pleasant or otherwise. The context shows whether *thou* is being used affectionately or scornfully. Some examples are: Fo's apologies to his wife on understanding the true situation (D4.4.6); F's first wooing of MF (D3.3); P to F on their reconciliation (D5.5.186); MP to Robin, expressing her pleasure in his loyalty (D3.3.33).

The other Falstaff plays support these conclusions, and show in addition *thou* used between men on close terms (H to F and Po, and sometimes in return) and between a man and a woman (F and D) who are not married.

(c) Ethic dative

While the use of the ethic dative draws special attention to the speaker or listener, it is impossible to come to any firm conclusion about its function in expressing attitude; it was probably merely characteristic of somewhat old-fashioned speech.

(d) Lexis and attitude

Finally, the mutual attitudes of the speakers may be indicated by lexical devices; intimacy, whether friendly or hostile, may be demonstrated by

the use of slang terms, i.e. items of vocabulary which never occur in the written language, except in familiar private letters, and which are usually ephemeral. They tend to cluster about areas of human experience which arouse the emotions of pleasure, fear and guilt, and in the Falstaff plays are especially concerned with the pleasures and pains of drinking (*jap* "drunk," *malt-worms* "topers," *dye scarlet* "drink deep," *ticklebrain* "strong drink") and of sex (*pagan*, *pinnacle* and *stewed prunes* are a few among the many terms connected with prostitution). A different kind of slang is the "ritual riposte" which indicates a familiarity with the other speaker which may be friendly or hostile. A friendly riposte, giving emphatic assurance to what has just been said, is:

B2.1.176 Q You'll pay me altogether?

F Will I live?

More common are the hostile ripostes:

A2.1.42 G I prithee, lend me thine (a lantern).

2nd C Ay, when? canst tell?

B2.4.134 Pi I know you, Mistress Dorothy. . .

D Since when, I pray you, sir? . . .
much!

A3.3.56 (F has just referred to B's fiery face)

B 'Sblood, I would my face were in your belly.

All of these are known as common ripostes by their occurrence in other sources, including the phrase-books; it is probable that there were many others such as "with that face?" (*LLL*) and "I took you for a joint-stool" (*Lear*). A third type of slang, not easily distinguished from the vocabulary of the written language, is the use of phrasal verbs consisting of a native element + adverb particle (+ preposition). These do, of course, occur in the written language but in Mod. Eng. their use is specially characteristic of the spoken. It is possible that, since many of the Latin loan-words which are now their written equivalents were introduced into the language in the 16th century, a similar distinction was found c.1600. What is quite certain is that there were many phrasal verbs in use then which are now obsolete, e.g. *come off* "pay," *go about* "attempt," *go to* "stop, be quiet," *lay by* "stand and deliver," *look about* "be careful."

The question of slang and its use is far too wide to be examined here; all that can be attempted is to draw attention to the function of slang within the spoken language as a medium for the expression of mutual attitudes.

Section II has been concerned so far with the expression of the mutual attitudes of the participants in a situation by their selection of exponents for ritual utterances, questions, commands and exclamations, and for forms of address; and with the selection of appropriate lexical items. The remainder of the Section deals with linguistic means of indicating a speaker's attitudes towards the situation or to the messages conveyed within the situation. These are of two kinds:

1. **Exclamations**, which imply attitudes to the situation or the message.
2. **Asseverations**, which assert the truth of the message and thereby imply the speaker's emotional involvement in it. Elizabethan English was extraordinarily rich in exclamatory utterances (which include oaths) and asseverations, and unlike Mod. Eng., used the name of God as unhesitatingly

as some Modern European languages. It also used asseverations of a horrifying and violent nature; the plague and the pox were matters of loathsome reality, yet featured in male speech, at least, as frequently as the equally horrifying references to hanging in imprecations. Women's speech was more reticent, as H shows when he objects to the gentle affirmations used by his wife, and tells her to swear "a good mouth-filling oath" (A3.1.258). Fashionable society sought after unusual oaths and asseverations; F meditates accordingly on the possibility of a new oath, to the discomfiture of B:

A3.3.37 If thou wert any way given to virtue, I would swear by thy face; my oath should be, "By this fire, that's God's angel."

The Puritan middle classes, who objected to the use of the name of God in trivial oaths, voiced their opposition so successfully that in 1606 such oaths were banished from the stage; Shakespeare comments on the situation in *Cymbeline*, where Cloten remarks:

2.1.4 A whoreson jackanapes must take me up for swearing . . .
When a gentleman is disposed to swear, it is not for any standers-by to curtail his oaths, ha?

Puritan forms of oath were distortions of the name of God and his attributes such as appear in the speech of SI, *Od's heartlings* (D3.4.59), S and P, *By cock and pie* (B5.1.1 and D1.1.319) and in a reference by Q, *Od's nouns* (D4.1.26). Otherwise they used the "pretty oaths that are not dangerous" to which Rosalind refers in *AYLI* 4.1.199. While the use of oaths and asseverations in itself implies such emotions as astonishment, annoyance, suspicion or pleasure in relation to situation or message, the excessive use of certain types implies, in addition, a violent, aggressive or exuberant attitude to life in general, or, with some types of oaths, a naive one.²⁷

1. Exclamations are of two kinds:

(a) Utterances (mostly consisting of a single syllable) with no referential meaning, e.g. *alas*, *fie*. Some of these, like *alas*, were once meaningful but were certainly no longer so in 1600.

(b) Utterances consisting of word or phrase with referential meaning, but functioning in the context purely as emotive cries, e.g. *'sblood*.

Utterances of type (a) mostly express pessimistic attitudes:

(i) Regret is indicated by *alas*; *alas the day*; *out, alas*, uttered by women (especially Q) and rarely by men (B *out, alas!* D4.5.64). *Ay me*, expressing both regret and anxiety, is used by Q. *Well-a-day* (first recorded in 1570 as a variant of *well-a-way*) expresses regret and anxiety, and is also used by women (Q and MP).

(ii) Disdain is expressed by *fie*, which seems to be a lower-class word elsewhere but is used by both sexes and all classes in the Falstaff plays. It is also indicated by *pish*, used only by N and Pi. *Tilly-fally*, perhaps best translated by *Nonsense!*, is used here only by Q, and occurs only rarely elsewhere.

(iii) Resignation is denoted by *heigh-ho*, used by the carrier on having to rise early (A2.1.1).

(iv) Impatience is indicated by *tut*, which Harvey associates with the speech of gentlemen (Arden D, p. 12). It is used only by men—F, Po and G.

(v) Surprise is suggested by *heigh*, used once by H (A2.4.542), and probably by *lo* (Q B2.4.35).

(vi) A desire for agreement or corroboration by the other speaker is indicated by *ha* (= Mod. Eng. *eh?*). It is specially characteristic of the speech of S and Ho:

B5.3.63 S By the mass, you'll crack a quart together: ha! will you not?

(vii) *La* is an indication of emphasis by the speaker on the message conveyed; its function is not now easy to understand, and a few examples are necessary:

D2.2.108 Q You have charms, la; yes, in truth.

D1.1.325 Sl Truly, I will not go first: truly, la!

D1.1.28 S I thank you always with my heart, la! with my heart. The exclamation is characteristic of naive and stupid people, and may be identical with the form which is written *lor'* (= *lord*) in later literature.

(viii) *Via* (from Italian) is an expression of encouragement, relating to one of the speakers rather than the situation, e.g.:

D2.2.161 F (meditating on his apparent success with MF)
Have I encompassed you? go to; *via*!

(ix) *oh* and *ah* are used for a variety of emotions as in Mod. Eng., and *ha ha* is not an exclamation but an attempt to represent laughter. It seems to be limited to foolish characters like Shallow.

(x) A few utterances which function emotively in the same way as the preceding exclamations, but which also have referential meaning, may be mentioned here briefly. An exclamation of pleasure is often *O excellent!* *O brave!* or *O rare!*, and of annoyance, *O monstrous!*²⁸

Utterances of type (b), consisting of words and phrases with referential meaning, are usually oaths and asseverations. Oaths which name the Deity or his attributes, the Devil, or various diseases, share the vocative characteristic of lack of syntactic relationship to the remainder of the utterance. They are impulsive reactions to the situation or message which are difficult to classify, since they depend so much on context and intonation for their meaning.

(i) God is usually named by reference to an attribute:

Zounds, 'sblood occur in male speech (usually denoting anger or surprise). *Godsbody* is used by a carrier (A2.1.29) to express annoyance.

'*Slid* (?=*eyelid*) is used by Sl (D3.4.24) in bravado.

Bodikins, a diminutive of *body*, is used by S, who affects unusual oaths and asseverations. At D2.3.46 it seems to suggest bravado.

God's light is used by D to express extreme anger (B2.4.140, 158).

'*Od's heartlings* expresses surprise (Sl, D3.4.59).

(*O*) *Jesu* is a favourite of Q's, to express pleasure, surprise, excitement.

(*O*) *Lord* is the favourite expletive of lower-class speakers. It is used by Francis the drawer (A2.4), servants, rustics and Q, and covers a wide range of emotions.

Marry is a form of *Mary*, and is so frequently used in answering a question that it is hardly an expletive at all:

A2.4.319 H What sayest thou to me? Q Marry, my lord,
there is . . .

Christ is not used as an expletive by English speakers, but the form *Chrish* is used by MacMorris.

(ii) *A/the devil, a plague, a pox* are used after *what* and *why* to express annoyance and surprise:

B2.4.1 1st Drawer What the devil hast thou brought there?

A1.2.51 F What a plague have I to do with a buff jerkin?

A1.2.53 H What a pox have I to do with my hostess?

Women usually substitute milder expletives:

D1.4.126 Q We must give folks leave to prate: what, the good-jer!

D3.2.20 MP I cannot tell what the dickens his name is.

(iii) *A pox, plague, vengeance* are also used as imprecations directed towards the situation or the other speaker (usually by males):

A2.2.30 F A plague upon't.

B1.2.276 F A pox of this gout!

D4.1.65 Q Vengeance of Jenny's case!

2. **Asseverations** take the form preposition + noun (*by, before, in, for*), and are used when the speaker calls on some person or thing to witness to the truth of his words and the sincerity with which he speaks them. Normally, the witness would be of religious significance, but partly because of Puritan opposition to the use of the name of God, and partly for fashion's sake, the names of objects with no religious significance were sometimes substituted, or the name of God was altered.

(i) *Asseverations by God*: *Before/fore God* are used by F and H; *By cock and pie* S and P; *By God's liggers* (?*Lidkins*) S.

(ii) *By the Lord*: extremely common in F's speech.

(iii) *By'r lady*: H and Sl.

(iv) *Objects connected with the Church*:

By the mass is characteristic of the speech of S, but it is also used by others including MF. It is probably especially appropriate to the elderly.

By the rood seems also to be old-fashioned: it is used only by S.

(v) *Virtues associated with Christianity*:

By my fidelity: S only.

By my troth, in good troth: used by women especially, and mostly by Q.

By my faith, i'faith, faith: used by all, but especially Q.

In truth: used by Q; possibly lower-class speech.²⁹

Forsooth: undoubtedly a lower-class word; F castigates a tradesman as "a rascally yea-forsooth knave" (B1.2.40) and the word is used continually by servants, and by the children William and Robin.

In good sadness (=sincerity): used by Fo in disguise as Brook, and by women.

(vi) *Objects or attributes of importance to the speaker*:

Upon my life, upon my death, on my word: used by all speakers, the second being a particularly serious asseveration.

By this hand, by these hilts: used by men, the second being appropriate to soldiers, e.g. F A2.4.233.

By this hat, by these gloves, used by the affected Sl.

(vii) *Miscellaneous asseverations*: Many of these occur only once, and do not seem to be part of normal usage, e.g. B2.1.156 Q *By this*

heavenly ground I tread on. The asseveration *By yea and nay* (S, and F in an affected letter) seems to have been a Puritan usage.

Finally, there is a completely different type of asseveration of the structure "as I am a/n + Noun," which Shakespeare often uses ironically: *As I am a gentleman/honest man/true knight/true woman/soldier/true spirit* (the last referring to F in disguise in D5).

III. THE LINGUISTIC EFFECT OF THE MEDIUM OF DISCOURSE

1. The impermanence of the medium and lack of premeditation

(a) In actual speech (i.e. not in a dramatic imitation) the most obvious result of lack of permanence and premeditation is a divergence between linguistic competence and actual performance. This effect is most apparent in lengthy monologue; the Elizabethan dramatist then had to choose between an imitation of normal speech, at the risk of delaying the unfolding of the plot which was so important to him, and the creation of well-formed monologue by means of the current devices of rhetoric. Shakespeare chose to imitate natural speech only to a limited extent, for the purposes of characterization; examples may be found in the speech of Q, of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, and Pompey in *Measure for Measure*:

B2.4.91 Q I was before Master Tisick, the deputy, t'other day; and, as he said to me, — 'twas no longer ago than Wednesday last, — "Neighbour Quickly," says he; — Master Dumbe, our minister, was by then; — "Neighbour Quickly," says he, "receive those that are civil, for," said he, "you are in an ill name;" now, a'said so, I can tell whereupon; "for," says he, "you are an honest woman, and well thought on."

(b) Lack of premeditation and absence of written record may also lead to repetition of either structures or of message; again, Shakespeare uses the device to characterize the stupid or elderly, e.g. Q repeats adverbial groups:

B2.1.96 Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Wheeson week, when the prince broke thy head . . .

S repeats complete sentences:

B3.2.1 Come on, come on, come on, sir; give me your hand, sir, give me your hand, sir.

or repeats material in different words:

B5.1.6 I will not excuse you; you shall not be excused; excuses shall not be admitted; there is no excuse shall serve; you shall not be excused.³⁰

(c) Lack of premeditation also causes the speaker to fail to complete a structure. Excessive use of such a feature would be tedious in drama, but Shakespeare uses it occasionally to denote emotion:

B2.4.419 Q I have known thee these twenty-nine years, come peas-cod-time; but an honest, and truer-hearted man, — well, fare thee well.

(d) The speaker is likely to pause while formulating his next utterance (the writer does too, of course, but without visible effect). The speaker is also likely to fill the resulting pause with an indeterminate sound or a meaningless phrase, and while the dramatist is again limited in the extent to which he can use this device, Shakespeare shows it as an occasional characteristic of the speech of the uneducated (and sometimes of others). He notices, for example, that speakers of all kinds tend to preface their opening words with *well*, *why*, or *now*.³¹ For examples see especially A1.2. Some pause-fillers are designed to retain attention by the other speaker: these are *come*, *hear ye*, *hark ye*, *look you*, *trust me*, and are especially noticeable in F's speech. Pause-fillers characteristic of Q are *I warrant you* (see especially D2.2.68), *as they say*, *you know*, *indeed*: others use *for mine own part*. There are also pause-fillers which function as signals of attention from the second speaker, when the first hesitates; these are *well*, *very well*.

(e) As a consequence of the impermanence of spoken language, there is a special device, rare in written language, which prevents possible ambiguity. The sentence is preceded by a "title," i.e. the subject or object is stated, there is a pause, and the sentence is resumed with repetition of subject or object as pronoun. The device is sometimes known as "cross-reference"; it is common in Mod. Eng. and was probably used at all periods of the language.³² It is particularly characteristic of F's speech, but in the form of a prepositional phrase:

(i) cross-reference to subject:

A3.3.196 F For the robbery, lad, how is that answered?

A2.4.64 H For the sugar thou gavest **me**, 'twas a pennyworth, was't not?

(ii) cross-reference to object:

B1.2.215 F For my voice, I have lost it with hollaing.

A4.2.77 F For their poverty, I know not where they had that.

It also occurs as in Mod. Eng. without preposition:

B5.1.11 S Yea, marry, William cook, bid him come hither.

The structure occasionally occurs with cross-reference between two pronouns, and lack of concord:

B1.2.219 F He that will caper with me for a thousand marks, let him lend me the money.

C2.1.67 B He that strikes the first stroke, I'll run him up to the hilt.

C4.7.132 Williams Who, if a' live and ever dare to challenge this glove, I have sworn to take him a box o' the ear.

(f) Just as cross-reference is a device which helps to avoid the dangers of ambiguity within the clause in an ephemeral medium, so the selection of simple structures without subordination helps to avoid ambiguity and the defects of memory within the larger unit of the "paragraph," if such a term may be applied to the spoken language. Natural speech tends towards parataxis to the extent that non-restrictive relative clauses are relatively uncommon, and particularly uncommon as interpolations within the main clause as subject qualifiers. It is in this respect that Shakespeare's imitations of the spoken language deviate most from reality; hypotaxis is used freely, and although its effect is dramatically impressive, as in the first long speeches

of A1.2, it would call for much suspension of disbelief were we not accustomed to accept such structures as characteristic of the language of Elizabethan drama.³³

(g) As the repetition of simple structures is easier for speaker and listener, so the repetition of lexical collocations in the spoken medium helps both memory and comprehension, as well as being valuable to the dramatist for the purposes of characterization. These lexical collocations are the features of language which have most frequently been examined as "colloquialisms", and have been adequately discussed in editions and glossaries. Many of these collocations have been described by King as "vulgarisms" because they occur in the speech of satirized characters or obviously lower-class speakers, but more evidence is needed from Elizabethan drama as a whole before we can be sure that they did not simply denote the everyday speech of all classes. Many of these colloquialisms, and in particular the metaphorical usages, are remarkably vivid; as Miss St. Clare Byrne has shown (and as even the phrase-books occasionally demonstrate), such vividness seems characteristic of Elizabethan speech of all classes.³⁴ The following are random illustrations.

(i) Figurative usages: metaphors, similes, etc.:

D1.4.90 Q I'll ne'er put my finger in the fire (=court danger).

D3.5.146 Fo There's a hole made in your best coat (=infidelity).

B2.1.48 F How now! whose mare's dead (=what's the matter?).

A2.1.9 2nd C As dank . . . as a dog.

B1.2.198 F Not worth a gooseberry.

A2.4.145 F Then am I a shotten herring.

(ii) Idiomatic phrases:

B5.3.9 S Well said (=well done).

D1.4.27 Sim Between this and his head (=anywhere).

D1.1.226 Sl Simple though I stand here.

D1.4.111 Q That's neither here nor there.

D2.2.62 Q Marry, this is the short and the long of it.

A4.2.80 H I'll be sworn.

D2.2.128 Q No remedy (=that's the end of the matter).

B2.2.46 H For fault of a better.

D3.4.68 Sl Happy man be his dole!

(iii) Adjectives in repeated use in a variety of collocations: certain adjectives were frequently used with little other meaning than general approbation (cf. Mod.Eng. *nice*). They include: *brave*, the excessive use of which is satirized in *AYLI* 3.4.41: "O, that's a brave man! he writes brave verses, speaks brave words, swears brave oaths, and breaks them bravely."

tall

B5.1.64 Sl (to pageboy) Welcome, my tall fellow.

D2.2.11 F You were good soldiers and tall fellows.

B3.2.68 B (of F) . . . a tall gentleman.

D1.4.26 Si He is as tall a man of his hands . . .

pretty

D3.2.18 Fo (of pageboy) Where had you this pretty weathercock?

B2.1.160 F . . . pretty slight drollery.

B5.1.29 S . . . any pretty little tiny kickshaws.

honest and *fair* occur passim, collocated with *man/gentleman* and with the names of women, e.g. *fair Mistress Anne*.

Terms expressive of general disapproval were less common:

monstrous

A2.4.537 B A most monstrous watch is at the door.

A2.4.347 B . . . his monstrous devices.

2. The linguistic effects of physical features of utterance

Speech differs most obviously from writing through the presence of stress, rhythm and intonation; these have had certain effects on the arrangement of elements within the sentence which are also reflected in the written language, as in Mod. Eng. *Put up your umbrella/Put it up; Here comes John/Here he comes; Give me the book/Give it to me*. The same variations in structure existed in Elizabethan English, but there are also others which have disappeared because the structures themselves are obsolete: *Doth not the king lack subjects/Do I not bate?; Fear not your advancements/Persuade me not!; Hear thou this letter/Tell us your reason*.³⁵ There are other variations in the order of sentence elements which are due to rhythm, but they will not be discussed further as they are common to spoken and written English. Stress and lack of stress are responsible, however, for a double set of forms in the spoken language which does not occur in the written, except in so far as the forms are recorded in imitation of the spoken language. These are stressed and unstressed forms of personal pronouns, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, the articles and conjunctions; they have been listed by Franz and Kökeritz³⁶ but have not been studied systematically, although the contrast in usage with Mod. Eng. is of great interest. An adequate description would require detailed study of both the Folio and Quarto texts; in addition, as not all of the unstressed forms seem to be graphically realized, the evidence must be drawn partly from verse and its metrical indication of reduced forms. Usage of c.1600 is particularly interesting because it represents the change from an older system to one which is roughly that of Mod. Eng.; and also because much of the earlier system is preserved in 20th-century dialect speech.

The effects of rhythm and stress most obviously differentiate the spoken from the written language, but certain difficulties of pronunciation may also involve syntactic change. Where the *-st* suffix of the *thou*-form stood in close proximity to consonants whose assimilation was difficult, or would have resulted in syntactic ambiguity, there were two possible (though as yet unproved) effects in the spoken language:

(a) *Thou* might be replaced by *you*. C. Williams has commented on the oddity of Sir Toby's first address to Sir Andrew in *Twelfth Night* where, instead of using *thou*, which he consistently prefers elsewhere, he uses *you*: "You mistake, knight." Williams suggests that he is avoiding the difficult "Thou mistakest, knight," in conformity with what is said to be Shakespeare's concern for euphony.³⁷

(b) A similar desire for euphony might account for some of the uses of unstressed *do*:

A3.3.114 What didst thou lose?

C4.8.53 It was ourself thou didst abuse.

Both of these difficulties might have militated against the use of *thou* in speech and contributed to its eventual disappearance from the language, since they were particularly prevalent in the case of French and Latin loans introduced so freely in the 16th century.

This survey has shown many contrasts between Elizabethan and 20th-century English speech; it has also illustrated, incidentally, several similarities between Elizabethan usage and that of some modern European languages. They include the use of certain ritual formulae, such as those connected with meals and with handing an object to another person, the retention of the 2nd person singular pronoun, the use of formal modes of address which are the equivalent of "your worship," the liking for titles ("Master Doctor," "Neighbour Mugges"), and the greater freedom with which the name of the Deity is used in oaths and asseverations. While the semi-detached house remains the most obvious symbol of England's divergence from European culture, it is clear that there are less obvious indications of that divergence in our use of language.

NOTES

- ¹ "Colloquial" is used here to denote the language *spoken* in everyday situations. The description is often applied to the *written* language of private letters, because the two forms of language share many features in contrast to the formal language of narrative, scientific and legal writings. But there are many differences between the spoken and written forms of colloquial language, and only the former is considered here; references to "written language," however, are intended to exclude private letters.
- ² M. St. Clare Byrne, "The Foundations of Elizabethan Language," *Shakespeare Survey*, XVII (1964), 239.
- ³ B. Ifor Evans, *The Language of Shakespeare's Plays*, 2nd ed. (London, 1959), p. 96.
- ⁴ L. Borinski, "Shakespeare's Comic Prose," *Shakespeare Survey*, VIII (1955), 60. Borinski finds what he calls "the older style" in Shakespeare's prose in so far as it is "still full of semipoetic *emphasis*, emphatic particles and short clauses, 'faith', 'pray', 'by my troth', 'I assure you' . . . [and] exclamations of all sorts." Far from characterizing medieval speech, as he suggests, this kind of language is typical of natural speech of c.1600.
- ⁵ David Abercrombie, "Conversation and Spoken Prose," in *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics* (London, 1965); see especially pp. 3-4.

- ⁶ *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1953), p. 360. He adds: "the various aspects of colloquial speech life must be examined, and the different elements arranged and grouped according to some principle of classification" (p.361). C. and M. Cowden Clarke's *The Shakespeare Key* (London, 1879) lists numbers of these elements, but as might be expected of a pioneering work, fails to systematize the material.
- ⁷ C. Holyband and P. Erondelle, *The French Schoole-Maister* (London, 1606), f.A3.
- ⁸ John Eliot admits to translating Rabelais: *Ortho-epia Gallica. Eliots Frvits for the French* (London, 1593), f.B3r.
- ⁹ John Florio, *Firste Fruites*, ed. A. del Re (Formosa, 1936), p. 43: cited below as 'Florio 1.'
- ¹⁰ Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, rev. G. Sarrazin (Berlin, 1902). Valuable glosses may be found in the Arden editions: *1 Henry IV*, by A. R. Humphreys (1960); *2 Henry IV*, by R. P. Cowl (1923); *Henry V*, by J. H. Walter (1954); *Merry Wives of Windsor*, by H. C. Hart (1904). These will be cited as 'Arden.'
- ¹¹ According to Arthur H. King, *The Language of Satirized Characters in Poetaster*, Lund Studies in English X (Lund, 1941). King makes many interesting observations on language and social class which are relevant to the Falstaff plays.
- ¹² *Hamlet* II. ii. 622.
- ¹³ See R. Jakobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas Sebeok (New York, 1960), p. 355.
- ¹⁴ For a general discussion of "dialect," "register" and "style" see M. A. K. Halliday, A. McIntosh and P. Strevens, *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching* (London, 1964), especially pp. 87-94. The author is also indebted to R. Quirk, "Colloquial English and Communication," in *Studies in Communication* (London, 1955), pp. 169-180 and to A. H. Smith and R. Quirk, "Some Problems of Verbal Communication," in *Trans. Yorkshire Dialect Society*, IX (1955), Part LIV, 10-20.
- ¹⁵ The following abbreviations are adopted here:
 A = *1 Henry IV*
 B = *2 Henry IV*
 C = *Henry V*
 D = *Merry Wives of Windsor*
 The edition quoted here is that of W. J. Craig (London, 1905 repr. 1955).
- ¹⁶ John Florio, *Second Frutes*, ed. R. C. Simonini (Gainsville, 1953), p. 35. Cited below as 'Florio 2.'
- ¹⁷ The names of the characters in the plays are abbreviated as follows:
 B (Bardolph), 1st and 2nd C (Carriers), D (Doll Tearsheet), F (Falstaff), Fe (Fenton), Fo (Ford), G (Gadshill), H (Prince Henry), Ho (Host), LCJ (Lord Chief Justice), MF (Mistress Ford), MP (Mistress Page), N (Nym), P (Page), Pi (Pistol), Po (Poins), Q (Quickly), S (Shallow), Si (Silence), Sl (Slender), Ser (servant).
- ¹⁸ C. Holyband, *The French Littleton*, ed. M. St Clare Byrne (Cambridge, 1953), p. 46.

- ¹⁹ G. Mason, *Grammaire Angloise* (1622), ed. R. Brotanek (Halle, 1905), p. 76.
- ²⁰ Holyband, *French Schoole-Maister*, p. 52.
- ²¹ *The Babees Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, 1868), pp. 342 and 81.
- ²² Thomas Dekker (London, 1609, repr. 1941), p. 86.
- ²³ Cf. modern dialects, e.g. "How hast a' been?" Several examples are listed in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.
- ²⁴ For a fuller account see "Sentence Structures in Colloquial Shakespearean English," *Trans. Philological Society* (1965), p. 134. The function of these "comments" is discussed by D. Abercrombie in "Making Conversation," in *Problems and Principles in Language Study*, 2nd ed. (London, 1963), pp. 57-69.
- ²⁵ See *TPS* (1965) on commands, pp. 130-132.
- ²⁶ Recent investigations of the use of *thou* include: T. Finkenstaedt, *You und Thou* (Berlin, 1961); A. McIntosh, "As You Like It: a grammatical clue to character," *Review of English Literature*, IV (April 1963), 68-81, and "King Lear, Act I, Scene i. A Stylistic Note," *Review of English Studies*, n.s. XIV (1963), 54-56.
- ²⁷ Among recent studies of oaths and exclamations are: Inna Koskeniemi, *Studies in the Vocabulary of English Drama 1550-1600* (Turku, 1962) and B. White, "Decline and Fall of Interjections," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LXIV (1963), 356-372.
- ²⁸ William Bullokar includes "O brave" in a list of interjections classified semantically in his *Bref Grammar for English*, ed. M. Plessow, *Palaestra*, LII (1906), 373.
- ²⁹ See King, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
- ³⁰ See Quirk, "Colloquial English . . .," on "redundancy," p. 179.
- ³¹ Quirk, *ibid.*, on "intimacy signals," p. 178.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 171. It is possible that the necessity of avoiding ambiguity led to the development of certain *do*-forms in the spoken language; see *TPS* (1965), 135.
- ³⁴ "Foundations . . .," pp. 236-237. "The use of imagery, proverbs, 'sayings', word-play . . . is generally first encountered by Elizabethan students in its most exaggerated form, as in *Euphues*. To meet these elements of popular speech, therefore, in their natural surroundings . . . is to realize how freely and effectively ordinary folk . . . used proverbial phrasing and lively imagery in normal expression."
- ³⁵ For the loss of pronoun subject see *TPS* (1965), p. 131.
- ³⁶ H. Kökeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* (New Haven, 1953).
- ³⁷ "The Use of the Second Person in *Twelfth Night*," *English*, IX (1953),

ALEXANDER POPE'S AND SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL'S TRANSLATIONS OF BOETHIUS

By BRIAN S. DONAGHEY

The major facts about Pope's youthful association with Sir William Trumbull are familiar to students of Pope's literary development. However, though the friendship endured over a decade, it remains shadowy and undefined, owing to the paucity of documentation beyond a few letters passed between them, and some references by Pope and others. Anything new that can be learnt about the friendship is therefore welcome as clarifying Pope's relationship with Sir William. Pope made Trumbull's acquaintance during his most formative years, and there is no doubt that the old gentleman took a genuine and even a fatherly interest in his education and health. It is even possible that Sir William was the first to begin the relationship.

This brief note presents further documentary evidence of the friendship, elucidates some of the influences exerted on Pope, and indicates the influence he himself had begun to exert even at an early age: for, as will appear later, it must have been in 1703 or early 1704 that the friendship began. A résumé of what is known about the relations between Pope and Sir William may be useful for estimating the significance of the documents presented below.

Sir William Trumbull (1639 - 1716) rounded off a full political life in the position of Secretary of State from 1695 to 1697; in 1698 he retired from public life, withdrawing to Binfield and refusing further appointments offered to him. Some observers characterized him as a man of moderate opinions, a cautious man, perhaps not quite equal to his high position.¹ Yet he was a thorough humanist, a trait which influenced Pope for the good. Pope's famous line, "The proper study of Mankind is Man," probably owes its origin to the attitudes he early acquired from Sir William.²

Concerning the other attitude adopted by Trumbull in these years, the praise of a retired life spent in edifying pursuits, it is doubtful that Pope did much more than pay lip-service to it. Except in moments of exasperation (of which there were not a few in his life), when he sometimes wished to withdraw from the turmoil of literary life, this attitude may be regarded as having little influence on him.³ Whatever influence it did exert could not have had an adverse effect, for Sir William's attitude was not due to bitterness or misanthropy. There was little of the real *contemptus mundi* in it, and Sir William still cultivated the friendship of a select few.

Trumbull had known Dryden, who claimed that his translation of the *Aeneid* owed much to Sir William's encouragement. Even before his retirement Trumbull was known as somewhat of a Maecenas. Though in religious beliefs he was Protestant, he recognised literary worth when he saw it, and did not allow the prevailing spirit of religious controversy and sectarianism

to blight his friendships based on common literary interests. Thus it was that when the Papes removed to Binfield about 1700, Sir William began to show an interest in this serious boy just entering his teens, whose desire for learning was manifested by his steady application to Latin and Greek, and even by his firm resolution to go to London to master French and Italian, as he did in 1703. Spence's record of a remark of Pope's shows the strength of the friendship:

It was while I lived in the Forest, that I got so well acquainted with Sir William Trumbull, who loved very much to read and talk of the classics in his retirement. We used to take a ride out together, three or four days in the week, and at last, almost every day.⁴

Of all the friends Pope made in those early years, Trumbull had perhaps the greatest influence, at least at the beginning of his association with the young poet. Through him Pope met others in the world of letters, and thus began his literary career. Soon Sir William is to be found suggesting ideas for verses and examining Pope's work critically. Pope dedicated "Spring" from his *Pastorals* to Sir William; but as he gained more experience in society and in literary affairs, Trumbull's influence on him declined. Pope might even be accused of being unwilling to recognize his debt to his friend, even though he always had a great regard for him.⁵

We are accustomed to recognizing Sir William's influence on Pope: but what of the other side of the picture? Might not Sir William have been stimulated and influenced by his pupil in the interchange of ideas? The documents described below seem to indicate that this is quite possible.

In the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds, classified as MS Lt. 15, are two papers sold together as Lot 577 at Messrs. Sotheby's sale of 30th July 1963, formerly the property of the Marquess of Downshire.⁶ They are (1) an autograph manuscript by Pope, unsigned, of his verse translation of Book III, metre 9, of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius; and (2) a letter to Sir William Trumbull from Charles Bertie, dated 19 February 1703, on the two inner pages of which is Sir William's unsigned draft of his own verse translation of the same metre.⁷

Since these two papers are associated, it is interesting to consider them together, for as a more detailed description of their physical appearance will show, some of the circumstances surrounding their composition can be inferred. Thus it seems likely that Pope and Sir William studied the work of Boethius together; that when Pope wrote his translation of Book III, metre 9, Sir William regarded it so favourably that he asked Pope for a fair copy for himself; and that Sir William was then stimulated to attempt his own verse translation under the influence of Pope's rendering, with reminiscences of Dryden, as will also appear.

As a starting-point towards establishing the likelihood of this hypothesis, the observation may be made that Pope's acquaintance with Boethius is not surprising. The *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, written in A.D. 525 in his prison at Pavia by a man who was a brilliant scholar but an unfortunate politician, was deservedly ranked among the most popular books of medieval times. By the age of Pope it had been accepted as a standard text for study in schools and universities. Sir William had probably come across it in his youth, at a time when competent editors like Sitzmann and Vallinus

Boetius, de Consol. Philos. Lib. 3. Met. 9. p. 99.

Thou who did'st form, and form'd dost still sustain
 The radiant Heavens, and Earth, and ambient Main:
 Eternal Reason, whose presiding Soul
 Informs great Nature, and directs the Whole:
 Who wert, e'er Time his rapid Race began,
 And bad'st the years in long Procession run:
 Who fix'd Thyself, amidst the rolling Frame,
 Gav'st All things to be chang'd, yet ever art the same!
 Oh teach the Mind i' *Ethereal* Height to rise;
 And view, familiar, in her native Skies,
 The Source of Good; Thy Splendor to Descrie;
 And on Thyself fix her undazzl'd Eye!
 Enliven the dull Mass of mortal Clay;
 Shine thro' the Soul; and drive its Clouds away;
 For Thou art Light; in Thee the Righteous find
 Calm Rest, and soft Serenity of Mind:
 Thee we regard alone, to Thee we tend,
 At once our Great Original, and End,
 At once our Strength, our ~~Widener~~ Guide, our Way,
 Our utmost Bound, and our Eternal Stay!

Pope's autograph.

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University of Leeds.

MS Lt. 15.

were making it better understood than ever before, and — a matter perhaps important in Sir William's opinion — rescuing it from the charge of barbarous Latinity levelled against it by all but the most enlightened of Renaissance scholars. If Pope had not already encountered such a well-known book, Sir William would surely have been the means of introducing it to him.

It is, moreover, a book that Pope would have found to his liking: imbued with a spirit of a noble stoicism, the epitome of private moral virtues, and written for the express purpose of reinforcing faith in God by revealing the rational basis for a theistic belief. It is a work which, for all its antiquity, would sound strangely modern to Pope's ear; for it discusses questions particularly relevant to his times, in terms that such moralists as Samuel Clarke and Bishop Butler would not have considered old-fashioned. Perhaps Pope became familiar with the whole book. Certainly he could not fail to notice that Book III, metre 9, which deals at short length with God's creation and government of the world as a preliminary to further philosophical disquisition, had always been considered as the crux of the whole work, and as one of the most fervent invocations to the deity in Western literature. The sincerity of purpose of this book, no less than its author's eclectic philosophy, has had a great influence throughout its existence. It must therefore be taken into account as a definite force helping to shape Pope's attitude to life, at an age when it could have its greatest effect on the awakening moral conscience.⁸

Pope's motive, then, for attempting to put part of this book into his own words is quite evident. However, further investigation into the circumstances of the composition of Pope's translation is warranted. It is no news to students of Pope that he made this translation, for some years ago the late Norman Ault showed that Pope included it among other poems of his in a miscellany he edited in 1717.⁹ It has since been reprinted in the Twickenham edition, with variants supplied from an autograph manuscript discovered later.¹⁰ The poem has been tentatively dated not later than 1710; but, for reasons that will soon appear, it can be dated much earlier, in 1703 or 1704. The autograph manuscript described in this article is not the one printed in the Twickenham edition (which has been lost sight of since 1950, and is now known only in Ault's transcript), since it differs from the transcript both substantively and in certain accidentals of spelling and punctuation. Neither the autograph manuscript nor the manuscript from which Ault transcribed his copy is dated, but a comparison of the readings which the autograph manuscript shares with Ault's transcript and the text of 1717 makes it probable that this manuscript represents a middle stage between Pope's first draft and his final published text.

The Brotherton autograph manuscript consists of a small sheet of paper (167 x 112 mm.) written on one side only. The poem is complete in a title and twenty lines, and is evidently meant to be a fair copy. From the circumstance of its being associated with the Trumbull item, it appears likely to have been written for Sir William. The handwriting is a youthful version, without blot or erasure, of Pope's famous "printing" hand, which he used regularly for the manuscripts he circulated among friends before revising his poems for publication, and for the fair copy to be sent to the printer. The beauty of this writing, italic in appearance and so different from his

usual style, has been remarked upon by several of his contemporaries, and this specimen is no exception.¹¹

Sir William's autograph presents a marked contrast, for it is plainly his draft of his own verse translation. It is written in twenty-three lines on the right-hand inner page of a letter addressed "For Sr. W^m Trumball at his house in Gerard Street," the text of which is as follows:

Saturday Februy 19th 1703

Sir

The Last time I did my self the honour to wait on you you desired mee to Lett you know when y^e Duke of Leeds came to Town, & saw Company, his Grace came Last night, & receives all visitants this afternoon, & so on for ten days, I am

Dear Sir,

Your most Obed^t humble Serv^t

Cha: Bertie.

Several signs show that it is a draft, notably a number of lines and words crossed out and revised. Sir William's hand, as one would expect, is more reminiscent than Pope's of seventeenth-century script both in the formation of letters and in orthography; but he appears also to have written hastily, as if to set down the words before inspiration vanished. However, he returned to his draft later. With a different pen he wrote two couplets along the right-hand margin of the page, and on the left-hand inner page he wrote thirteen further lines as additions and revisions.

The fact that this draft is written on the back of a letter is important for two reasons. First, it is a further proof of the haste of writing. Pope, as is well known, used the space on the backs of letters to write his drafts, and attracted attention and even derision for doing so; but it is difficult to imagine an affluent man like Sir William being reduced to this unless in his eagerness he snatched the scrap of paper nearest to him, which happened to be a letter lying handy. Secondly, it makes possible a fairly close dating of both Pope's and Sir William's translations. This letter is not an important one of permanent value: it is ephemeral in nature, and having served its purpose would, in the normal course of events, soon have been thrown away. Consequently one could advance a plausible argument that it cannot have been long after 19 February 1703 when Sir William wrote his draft, though there can be no positive proof of this.

Furthermore, if we believe from the nature of Pope's manuscript that it was written for Sir William to keep, we must also date Pope's poem at roughly the same time, in the early part of 1703. At the very latest both poems might be dated in late 1703 or early 1704, after Pope had returned from London, where he had gone to study, as previously mentioned. It is surely not by chance that these two manuscripts are associated together, for everything in their nature and appearance indicates a close linkage between them.

Printed below are the texts, reproduced as they stand, and followed by a few notes of explanation:

1. *Pope's Translation*

Boethius, *de Consol. Philos.* Lib.3. Met.9. p.99.

Thou who did'st form, and form'd dost still sustain
 The radiant Heav'ns, and Earth, and ambient Main:
 Eternal Reason, whose presiding Soul
 Informs great Nature, and directs the Whole:
 Who wert, e'er Time his rapid Race begun,
 And bad'st the Years in long Procession run:
 Who fix'd Thyself, amidst the rolling Frame,
 Gav'st All things to be chang'd, yet ever art the same!
 Oh teach the Mind t'Ætherial Height to rise;
 And view, familiar, in her Native Skies,
 The Source of Good; Thy Splendor to descry;
 And on Thyself fix her undazzl'd Eye!
 Enliven the dull Mass of mortal Clay;
 Shine thro' the Soul; and drive its Clouds away;
 For Thou art Light; in Thee the Righteous find
 Calm Rest, and soft Serenity of Mind:
 Thee we regard alone, to Thee we tend,
 At once our Great Original, and End,
 At once our Strength, our Aid, our Guide, our Way,
 Our utmost Bound, and our Eternal Stay!

While it is left to the reader to compare this with the version in the Twickenham edition, one or two points may be noted. First, Pope does not translate the whole poem (nor does Sir William). His verses correspond only to the very beginning and end, 11. 1-3 and 22-28 of the whole;¹² no doubt the long middle section, based as it is on Platonic and Neoplatonic cosmology, was omitted because Pope felt it unsuitable for working into verse-form — though we could be uncharitable to Pope and ask whether he really understood its obscurities. Secondly, if he has omitted some lines, he has on the other hand expanded those he has used, as will readily be seen by comparison with the lines quoted in the footnote. Thirdly, though a full discussion of the influence of Boethius on Pope cannot be entered into here, one probable example may be noted. While Pope gave Sir William none of the credit for *Windsor Forest*, in one section of the poem (in the first half, written in 1704) he compares him to Atticus, in his portrait of whom there seem to be verbal echoes of his translation of Boethius, and of other parts of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. These verses are as follows:

Happy the Man whom this bright Court Approves,
 His Sov'reign favours, and his Country loves;
 Happy next him who to these Shades retires,
 Whom Nature charms, and whom the Muse inspires,
 Whom humbler Joys of home-felt Quiet please,
 Successive Study, Exercise and Ease.
 He gathers Health from Herbs the Forest yields.
 And of their fragrant Physick spoils the Fields:
 With Chymic Art exalts the Min'ral Pow'rs,

And draws the Aromatic Souls of Flow'rs.
Now marks the Course of rolling Orbs on high;
O'er figur'd Worlds now travels with his Eye.
Of ancient Writ unlocks the learned Store,
Consults the Dead, and lives past Ages o'er.
Or wandering thoughtful in the silent Wood,
Attends the Duties of the Wise and Good,
T'observe a Mean, be to himself a Friend,
To follow Nature, and regard his End.
Or looks on Heav'n with more than mortal Eyes,
Bids his free Soul expatiate in the Skies,
Amid her Kindred Stars familiar roam,
Survey the Region, and confess her Home!
Such was the Life great *Scipio* once admir'd,
Thus *Atticus*, and *Trumbr* thus retir'd. (235-58)

To mention Trumbull in the poem was a compliment; but if Pope's terms are really verbal echoes of Boethius, and not mere conventional constructions, the compliment becomes more subtle. Moreover, the reference to Scipio gives rise to another interesting speculation, as will soon appear.

2. Sir William's Translation

(a) Right-hand page:

Paraphrase ō Boetius. Ô qui perpetuâ etc.
 Thou who didst make y^e Heavn & Earths vast Frame
 [altered to "O God who madst"]
 And by Eternal Wisdom rul'st y^e same!
 Thou, who vnmoovd bidst things in order run,
 ["makst all in motion" written above]
 Till Ages passt & Time it self begun. &c.
 Ô grant my Heav'n-born soul may mount y^e skie
 [altered to "mind", re-altered to "soul"]
 And wingd with pure Desire to Thee may flie.
 Thy all-Enlightening glories let me find
 That through y^e dark Recesses of my Mind;
 That my glad soul may find y^e souv'raign spring
 Whence all that's Good flows out to every thing;
 And no mean objects may my Thoughts remoove
 Fixt on y^e Beauties of Thy wondrous Love.
 Grant y^t this World, my former vain Delight,
 Still as I rise may lessen to my sight,
 Till y^e whole prospect does so little grow
 I wonder where we roll set here below.
 Throw off these drossy Particles of Earth
 From whence dark Clouds & vap^{rs} have y^eir Birth;
 O God, who dost in vnmixt Glorie dwell,

With thy resplendent Rayes these Mists dispell.

Thou art y^e Good Mans Rest, his Help, his Freind;
In Thee all things begin, to Thee they tend;
To Thee, y^e onely Way, y^e Guide, y^e End.

dryd.

Through all these earthly Limbs & gross Alloy
Of mortal members subject to decay
Thy Heavenly beams may shine a constant day.

+ May no contracted filth within remain
nor speck be left of each bestial stain.

Heek Lord of word, & raise this grovelling mind,
In Flesh, as in a Dungeon dark confin'd,
To join above its own ethereal kind.

From this coarse mixture of Terrestrial parts,
With Grief & Joy, Desire & Fear in parts,
+ Purg - all of Dregs; In thy appointed time
Wear off of filth of each contracted Crime.
Purge off of Rust committed

In the right-hand margin:

And through my purified Ideas shine
Serene Impressions of a stamp Divine.

They w^h thy Godlike Image fully blest,
Joy fills my [*figure of a heart*] & peace securs my breast.

(b) Left-hand page:

Dryd.

Through all these earthly Limbs & gross Allay
Of mortal Members subject to decay
Thy Heuenly beames may shine a constant day.

May no contracted Filth within remain
Nor speck be left of each habitual stain.

Speak Lord y^e Word, & raise this groveling mind,
In Flesh, as in a dungeon dark confind,
To joyn above its own *Etherial Kind*.

From this coarse mixture of Terrestrial parts,
W^{ch} Greif & Joy, desire & Fear imparts,
Purge all y^e dregs; In thy appointed Time
Wear off y^e Filth of each contracted Crime.

[altered to "Cleanse off y^e Rust"]

["contracted" altered to "committed"]

The influence of Pope is apparent in the incipit, where Sir William began as Pope did, though he then altered it. Other similarities can be detected, for example, Sir William's second couplet compared with Pope's third couplet, and the fact that Sir William translated the same lines as Pope did. But in many ways this poem is the more interesting of the two, especially since his translation is more expansive than Pope's. The style reminds one more of Dryden than of Pope, and though haste is shown in one or two couplets that seem to be incomplete or do not make adequate sense, Sir William appears to have caught the spirit of the Boethian invocation better than Pope did. Perhaps this is only to be expected; after all, at this stage of his life Sir William had greater experience in and deeper understanding of the classics, reinforced by many years spent in an age for the most part profoundly concerned with religious issues. This deeper reading in the classics is shown particularly by the verses on the page headed "Dryd." This contraction of course suggests Dryden's name, and investigation shows that Sir William has adapted Dryden's translation of the lines in Book VI of the *Aeneid* in which Virgil expounds the working of the Universe in terms principally Orphic and Platonic.¹³

Yet it may be more surprising that Sir William omitted the middle section of Boethius' poem than that Pope did. One can understand the

difficulties that Pope might have in comprehending it; but the meaning should have been clearer to Sir William. Pope's mention of Scipio in *Windsor Forest* suggests the possibility that Sir William may have been acquainted with that vast repository of medieval lore, the *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis* of Macrobius, so often referred to by commentators on Boethius. If Sir William had glanced at Macrobius for an elucidation of the cosmology and natural science of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Pope may have been introduced to the book too, and may be making an indirect reference to it in *Windsor Forest*. However, this must remain a mere conjecture. As far as the middle section of Boethius' poem is concerned, even if Sir William was ignorant of the work of Macrobius and of the host of other commentators on Boethius, he might still have remembered the exposition of Pythagorean cosmology in Book XV of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and part of Book III of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (besides parts of other books), which would certainly have come into his classical studies. Moreover, both of these were translated by Dryden. If Sir William was willing to adapt some lines from Dryden's Virgil, why should he not have used the others as well?

Whatever problems remain to be solved with regard to these documents, they must at least be considered as of some importance from both the historical and the literary point of view. Not only do they throw light on a scantily documented period of Pope's life, but they reveal the genius and personality he possessed even at so early an age. It is no mean feat for a lad in his teens to prompt an elderly retired politician to unaccustomed literary efforts: one might even say, for a mere tyro to teach his mentor to express his humanism, not merely absorb more of it. That Pope could so teach, is a proof of his ripening genius; that Sir William was willing to be so taught, is further evidence of the sincerity and humility with which he faced life. Pope had a true friend and patron.

NOTES

- ¹ Cf. his remark in a letter to Pope: "I hope you will never condemn me of partiality, since I only swim with the stream, and approve what all men of good taste (notwithstanding the jarring of parties) must and do universally applaud." Letter of 6 March 1713/14; see *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. G. Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), I, 212.
- ² Cf. Pope's words in a letter to Sir William not long before his death: "I think to be a lover of one's Country is a glorious Elogy, but I do not think it so great an one as to be a lover of Mankind." Letter of 16 Dec. 1715; see Sherburn, *Correspondence*, I, 324. In his "Memorial List of Departed Relations and Friends" Pope called Sir William "amicus meus humanissimus a juvenilibus annis."
- ³ But one such moment seems to be shown in the following: "I sincerely wish myself with you, to contemplate the wonders of God in the firmament, rather than the madness of man on the earth. But I never had so much cause as now to complain of my poetical star, that fixes me at this tumultuous time, to attend the ginging of rymes and the measuring of syllables." From the same letter as the preceding quotation.

- ⁴ J. Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1820), p.194.
- ⁵ For example, though the inspiration for *Windsor Forest* came partly from Sir William, partly from Lord Lansdowne, Pope gave credit for the poem only to the latter. Similarly he publicly thanked Addison for encouraging him to translate the *Iliad*, yet in fact Sir William had done the same years before.
- ⁶ I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professor A. C. Cawley, of the School of English at Leeds University, who, knowing my interest in Boethian studies, mentioned these papers to me; and to Mr. David I. Masson, Deputy Keeper of the Brotherton Collection, who supplied me with photographic copies.
- ⁷ Though these manuscript papers once belonged to the present Marquess of Downshire, they are not mentioned in the *Historical MSS Commission: Report on the MSS of the Marquess of Downshire* (4 vols., 1924).
- ⁸ Readers of Pope unfamiliar with the work of Boethius will find good accounts in English in the following: H. F. Stewart, *Boethius: An Essay* (London, 1891), E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), and H. M. Barret, *Boethius: Some Aspects of his Times and Work* (Cambridge, 1940).
- ⁹ *Pope's Own Miscellany*, ed. N. Ault (London, 1935), a reprint of *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1717).
- ¹⁰ *Poems of Alexander Pope*, VI (Minor Poems, 1954), pp. 73-74, where the original is said incorrectly to be "lib.3 metrum I."
- ¹¹ Spence praises the typographical quality of Pope's hand as shown on a title-page (*Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, p.283); Jonathon Richardson, a friend of Pope's, wrote a similar encomium in his copy of the *Pastorals* in 1717 (quoted in Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope, I, 239); and later Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Pope*, contrasted Pope's fine hand with his ordinary writing. A good facsimile of a page of the fair copy for the *Essay on Criticism*, written in 1709, will be found in P. Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1935), facing p.102.
- ¹² The original lines are as follows:

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
 terrarum caelique sator, qui tempus ab aevo
 ire jubes, stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri, . . .
 . . . Da, pater, augustam menti conscendere sedem,
 da fontem lustrare boni, da luce reperta
 in te conspicuos animi defigere visus.
 Dissice terrenae nebulas et pondera molis
 atque tuo splendore mica; tu namque serenum,
 tu requies tranquilla piis, te cernere finis,
 principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus idem.

- ¹³ Dryden's *Aeneid*, Bk. VI, ll. 990-99, 1009-11 (731-38, 745-46 of the original):

As much as earthly limbs, and gross allay
 Of mortal members subject to decay,
 Blunt not the beams of heaven and edge of day.
 From this coarse mixture of terrestrial parts,
 Desire and fear by turns possess their hearts,
 And grief and joy: nor can the grovelling mind,
 In the dark dungeon of the limbs confined,
 Assert the native skies, or own its heavenly kind:
 Nor death itself can wholly wash their stains;
 But long-contracted filth e'en in the soul remains . . .
 . . . Then they are happy, when by length of time
 The scurf is worn away of each committed crime;
 No speck is left of their habitual stains.

SYMBOLIC AND SATIRIC ASPECTS OF HANS ANDERSEN'S FAIRY-TALES

By CHRISTINE E. FELL

Among those fairy-tales of Hans Andersen that are usually translated into English,¹ the delicate and serious ones have their place, and those of the satiric ones where the fun seems good-humoured and playful are also popular. Less frequently found are translations of, for example, *The Shadow*, or *She was Good for Nothing*, where "fairy-tale" has become an even less relevant term than usual, and the darkness of Andersen's statement is alleviated by humour, not by playfulness. This is quite simply because Andersen is still regarded here mainly as a writer for children, and the choice of tales to be translated is usually dictated by this assumption. It is natural that Danish readers, quicker to discover the qualities of Andersen, should have given to his work the full scholarship and close appreciation that it demands. Here, since he is largely unread except by children and teachers, it seems worth while to re-examine some of the qualities which make Andersen not only a writer for children, but a mature and sophisticated artist, whose responses to life were complex rather than childlike, and whose awareness found expression in controlled and subtle prose.²

It is beyond the scope of this article to look closely at Andersen's style, perhaps beyond the scope of a non-Danish reader to be fully aware of all the nuances, and Andersen's mastery of his language will concern me only incidentally. What I should like to do, using a small selection of the tales, is to attempt an understanding of their structure, to find out some of the values presented within that structure, and to discover in what ways, symbolic and satiric, Andersen conveys these values.

In the two stories *The Little Mermaid* and *The Snow Queen* one of the qualities which stands out is the emphasis on absolutes. The setting Andersen has chosen has the characteristic of myth and folk-tale that the opposing forces of good and evil are presented in the clearest possible terms, and there is as little doubt about their identification as there is about their existence. The child Gerda and the little mermaid could not have chosen wrong accidentally. Moral choice does not mean for these two the slow discovery of relevant values, as it does for the boy in *She was Good for Nothing* or, more light-heartedly, for the goblin in *The Goblin at the Provision Dealer's*. Rather, Andersen makes the choice a harsh test of the courage to give and to love. And the initial choice has to be re-affirmed continually in the knowledge of increasing pain and diminishing hope. But there is no questioning the rightness of the choice made, since the conflict of good and evil is expressed in such unequivocal terms as life and sterility.

The good and evil antithesis in *The Snow Queen* is seen through two major symbols of life and death, the rose and the snow-flake, and these two symbols are presented almost entirely in terms of colour.

Red, especially rose-red, for Andersen frequently symbolizes love, and he exploits the tension between the loveliness of the colour in the rose and the pain of it as the colour of blood, the blood of sacrifice being the supreme test of love. In *The Snow Queen* there is a sustained contrast between white, the cold sterile colour of the Queen, and the rich living beauty of the rose, associated all the way through the story with the child Gerda, that is with love and innocence. The evil which the Snow Queen represents is that of spiritual death, and against this the rose, the symbol of life, is further associated with Christ. The verse of a hymn,

In the valley grew roses wild,

And there we spoke with the Holy Child³

is quoted at major points throughout, and the contrast deliberately touches off all the overtones of snow/winter/death and of spring/Easter/Resurrection.

At first the children Kay and Gerda play together in harmony, but this is shattered when splinters from the devil's mirror pierce Kay's eye and heart, distorting the way he sees things and numbing his emotions. He chooses now the frozen, insensate world of the Snow Queen, rejects as imperfect and corrupt the living beauty of the rose, and sets in its place the snowflake as an example of perfect design:

"Do you see how beautiful they are!" said Kay. "They're much more interesting than real flowers! And there isn't a single blemish on them: they're quite perfect — or they would be if they didn't melt!"⁴

When Kay is finally rescued from the power of the Snow Queen there is renewed emphasis on the world of ice he is leaving, and the world of the rose to which he is brought back:

The roses in the gutter were thrusting their flowers in at the open window . . . (Kay and Gerda) had forgotten like a heavy dream the cold empty splendour of the Snow Queen's palace.⁵

In Andersen's structured world of absolutes both Gerda and the little mermaid are involved in a kind of quest. In its simplest terms this operates on the practical and traditional level of a life to be saved, a wrong to be put right. More fully, the quest is the search for the fulfilment of an ideal, in which the hero may be hindered and almost overcome by the indifference of his environment or by the destructive forces of evil. And of course to some extent the process is the hero's finding of himself. The search of both Gerda and the mermaid is the search inspired by love of another, together with a need for the fulfilment of reciprocal love. One of Andersen's central themes is loneliness, the need, combined with the inability, to communicate, and it is the conviction that life is only meaningful when it is shared that animates and sustains his children in their search. Andersen's emphasis is on the single figure of a child, symbol of love and innocence, trying to find the way through a world that is by turns alien or friendly or merely indifferent. But even where it is friendly it is not always comprehending, as when the little mermaid's grandmother offers her comfort which, though kindly meant, is so remote from the little mermaid's hopes and thoughts as to be meaningless:

"Let us be joyful!" said the old lady. "We'll skip and dance through the three hundred years we have to live."⁶

But the mermaid's hope is to gain the love of the prince and win an immortal

soul. Even before she is fully aware of these hopes she is somewhat apart from her sisters, "a strange child, quiet and thoughtful," and her garden reflects an interest in the world beyond the sea, whereas her sisters' gardens reflect only the sea-world, their immediate environment. Her choice of rose-red flowers, and a rose-red weeping willow, also takes us back to the symbolism of *The Snow Queen*.⁷

When she first meets the prince and saves him from drowning she is hardly aware of her love for him. But as she grows more deeply aware of her involvement both with the prince and with the human world he represents, she tries to discover how to reach them. Her grandmother phrases for her the kind and quality of love she is seeking, in words that gain in power through their Biblical echoes; and when the little mermaid expresses her longing for such a relationship, she expresses also her awareness of the strength of her love, in the words that she has learned:

"He must be sailing up there now, him I hold dearer than father and mother, him my thoughts cling to, and into whose hands I would put my life's happiness."⁸

When her grandmother used these words they described the kind of love a mermaid must receive in order to share human immortality; when the little mermaid uses them she has transferred them from the love she hopes to receive to the love she has to give. The change is fundamental.

As the little mermaid recognizes her love and her needs, her decision becomes clear to her. She will risk everything to fulfil them, and her first action must be to obtain from the sea-witch the potion that will give her a human form. The journey to the sea-witch's house is the first test of the love which has been so confidently affirmed. Evil and ugliness are powerfully conveyed in Andersen's description of the desolate region where the witch lives, and it takes all the little mermaid's courage not to turn back. (Gerda's courage was similarly tested at the final point of her journey by the terrifying regiment of snow-shapes.) Andersen makes it clear that the horror is real, not just the mermaid's emotionalized perception, when he passes from a generalized description to a close-up of a single mermaid's skeleton in the midst of the desolation. There is no assurance for the mermaid that she will survive the dangers.

From the physical danger Andersen passes to a more insidious aspect of destructive power. The witch recounts the little mermaid's ideals in a tone of mockery which at once cheapens them and renders them slightly absurd. She follows this by a catalogue of the pains the mermaid will suffer and the price she will have to pay, and in the mermaid's willing acceptance of pain and potential misery, the strength of her love is proved more fully and deeply than before. That part of the price is the loss of her voice is significant, not only because it is her most precious possession⁹ — the sweetness of her singing has already been established — but also because this loss emphasizes her complete aloneness. She will be unable to tell the prince either what she needs from him or what she has given for him. She has chosen to separate herself from her own world, and waits to find if she can have a place in the human world. When she had her voice she could not communicate with her own people because her ways of thinking were remote from theirs. Now that she has lost the means of communication she finds the prince, and it is indicated that he has the degree of understanding to share and respond to the

little mermaid's thoughts and hopes, if the machinery of communication were not absent. The irony of this awareness and unawareness, and the interplay of different kinds of nearness and distance mark all the little mermaid's relationships, and are the distinctive qualities of her suffering. It is of course an additional irony that whereas children in other stories by Andersen suffer because to be human is to suffer, the little mermaid endures her suffering in order to attain humanity.

Gerda's search for Kay in *The Snow Queen* begins symbolically enough with the coming of Spring, but she is delayed in her quest by the false security of another relationship. The old woman who detains her conceals all the roses in her garden so that Gerda may forget Kay and be happy with her. When Gerda is recalled to her journey the time is autumn:

Everything round her looked cold and raw: . . . Only the sloe still bore its fruit, so sour and bitter it draws your mouth tightly together.¹⁰ That Gerda as well as Kay has left behind the springtime childhood idyll is evident, but Gerda's maturity must come through intensity of love and suffering, while Kay's development is purely intellectual, and his rejection of feeling leads him to the cold abstract realm of pure knowledge. This is made clear by Andersen's repeated use of the word *intelligent*, which in this story at least seems to carry a pejorative implication. The Snow Queen's Mirror of Intelligence, with its cold patterned regularity — "the whole thing looked like a trick"¹¹ — reminds the reader of the devil's mirror at the beginning of the story. Little Kay's games, after his sight had been distorted, became "quite different now from what they had been before, they were so intelligent."¹² When he is carried off by the Snow Queen he tries to say the Lord's Prayer but can only think of multiplication tables, and after the Snow Queen's kiss he forgets every emotional involvement, ceases to feel fear of the Queen and sees only wisdom in her. When Gerda, also in danger from the Snow Queen's legions, says the Lord's Prayer, this acts as a protection for her. The contrast is self-explanatory.

When the power of Gerda's love thaws the splinter of ice in Kay's heart, the intellectual achievement for which he has been striving comes naturally and easily with the release of this power. Kay has been trying to form the word *eternity*, and though he has been able to form some patterns which, though useless, seem to him important, this one is beyond him. But if the concept *eternity* cannot be reached by the mind alone, Andersen suggests that it is nevertheless a concept subject to the power of love. Kay has been "thinking and thinking until his head creaked with the effort."¹³ Gerda does not even have to think. At the moment when she has brought Kay back to recognition and understanding, to rejection of the Snow Queen's cold and empty halls, "even the pieces of ice danced for joy all round them, and when they grew tired and lay down, they formed the very letters the Snow Queen told him he must find out."¹⁴

As Kay and Gerda leave the Snow Queen's palace they see again the signs of Spring. It is not until they reach home that they realize fully what has happened to them and how they have achieved a maturity which yet retains the values of childhood:

There they sat together, grown up, yet children still, children at heart —and it was summer, warm and beautiful summer.¹⁵

In case any of the significance of the child-adult paradox is missed here,

Andersen underlines it by bringing together the Christ/roses/children associations which he has been developing throughout the story:

Grandmother was sitting there in God's bright sunshine and reading aloud from the Bible, "Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven!"

And Kay and Gerda looked into each other's eyes, and all at once they understood the old hymn:

In the valley grew roses wild,

And there we spoke with the Holy Child.¹⁶

It is evident in these two tales, *The Snow Queen* and *The Little Mermaid*, with their careful and ordered world in which good and evil are opposed and a choice has to be made, that Andersen's statement is a hopeful one. His children triumph through the power of their love, courage, and innocence. Even though the little mermaid's success is a partial one, in that she fails to gain the prince's love, she earns for herself the hope of immortality, a hope which is also extended to Kay and Gerda, both through Andersen's use of the key-word *eternity*, and by his suggestion that they have retained those qualities of childhood which fit them for the kingdom of heaven. But the idealist in Andersen is complemented by the cynic, and there are other tales by him which demonstrate the triumph, in earthly terms at least, of the powers of stupidity and cruelty.

Instead of the clear-cut distinction between the forces of good and evil, the contrasts in the satiric tales are more subtle, less identifiable. In the satires the reader is made aware of two sets of values or attitudes simultaneously and of some incongruity between them. This might be the contrast between the real and the apparent, for example between a fine surface and an ugly concealed reality, or perhaps a contrast between the actual situation and the ideal. More probably Andersen offers the reader a full and complex structure depending on various and shifting contrasts, and leaves him to make the connecting links for himself between what is being stated and what it is being measured against. An example of Andersen's method occurs in *Thumbelina*. Thumbelina has been described as beautiful in terms that have made her sympathetic to the audience. But the cockchafers reject her because she is so unlike themselves. Their standard of beauty is dictated by their image of themselves, and perhaps there is sufficient jealousy in their attitude to make it very important for them to preserve their conceptions intact:

"But she's only two legs" . . . "She hasn't any feelers!" . . . "How ugly she is!"¹⁷

Here Andersen's irony is so light that satire is perhaps too strong a term. But the point that he makes in this example is one to which he frequently returns, and one which can call out his most savage satirical observations. The cockchafers' blindness towards the beauty of Thumbelina is like Kay's blindness when the splinter from the devil's mirror has entered his eye, and like the blindness of social prejudice which prevents people from recognizing quality in their midst, as in so many of Andersen's tales. *She was Good for Nothing*, *The Ugly Duckling*, and *The Gardener and the Family* are some of the ones which spring immediately to mind.

It gives satire an added dimension when the author puts the attitudes that he is satirizing into the mouths of non-human creatures or objects.

Behaviour that is absurd in humans, even if typical of them, is even more absurd when the stature of the creatures involved is lessened. A satire about a darning-needle who is so fine that she imagines herself to be a sewing-needle, calls into question the falsities and weaknesses inherent in a social structure where such distinctions can seem significant. The actual irrelevance of the question — it doesn't after all seem of grave importance exactly where a single needle is in the needle hierarchy — is shown against the total dominance of this idea in the needle's existence.

The Darning-Needle demonstrates the life-history of a one-track egoistical mind — the one track being a false estimate of its own importance. The needle consoles herself as she lies in the gutter:

"I'm too fine for this world! . . . But I'm very conscious of what I am, and there's always some pleasure in that!"¹⁸

But the consciousness she speaks of, is, as the reader knows, no consciousness at all, but deliberate ignorance and self-conceit. The ironic exposure of multiple layers of deception and egoism becomes more and more savage. The darning-needle, herself so self-centred that she believes the fingers of the kitchenmaid exist only for her convenience, yet resents the self-concern of other refuse that floats past her in the gutter. She is sure that the stick is selfishly thinking of nothing but himself, but she is willing to be taken in by the glitter of a piece of glass and to suppose it a diamond. The self-deception makes acquaintance possible, without overt lessening of her own claims. Her most extravagant thought, half-lyric, half-comic, is

"I could almost believe I was born of a sunbeam, I'm so fine,"¹⁹

and just in case the reader is misled into responding with sympathy to the pathos of this hopeful claim, the gesture is immediately followed by a return into meanness of conception:

"If I had my old eye that snapped off, I think I could cry — except that I wouldn't do it: crying's not refined."²⁰

The human element is brilliantly reinforced by the witty juxtaposition of words relating to needles and words relating to humans. The word *fiin* (fine) carries this dual rôle throughout. The blackness of the tarnished needle is related to the fashionable wearing of black:

The sealing-wax had worn off and she had turned black, but black is slimming and so she thought she was finer than ever.²¹

The verb *knaekke* (snap) suggests not only the physical breaking of the metal, but the tension of repressed human attitudes. There is a suggestion of hysteria in the needle's repeated use of the formula, "I shall snap! I shall snap!"²² And towards the end of the story there is recurrent shift of emphasis between mounting hysteria and self-righteous platitude. The darning-needle hovers between the complaining whine of "If only I'm not seasick," and the complacent cliché "The finer one is the more one can stand."²³ Andersen's final comment is complex in its bitter awareness of defeat in the face of such conditioned egoism, egoism which can be ignored but not destroyed:

But she didn't snap although a loaded wagon had gone over her: she was lying full-length on the ground — and there she can stay!²⁴

In the two tales discussed earlier, *The Snow Queen* and *The Little Mermaid*, Andersen has shown his concern with the power of love and the ability to communicate. When he is serious and non-satiric, he shows these

as ideals to be striven for, but in his satiric tales he shows their opposite, egoism. Love he shows as fulfilled through suffering, egoism as destroying the capacity to suffer or to love.²⁵ Both halves of the pattern come together in *The Ugly Duckling*. Here the bird, hoping to find reality of love and communication, is offered a substitute, a mockery, and expected to be grateful for it by those who, not understanding his search, find him lacking by their own irrelevant standards. At the old woman's cottage the duckling finds a cat and a hen who are totally self-righteous and self-satisfied, and though not self-sufficient naturally think themselves so. They cannot comprehend any pattern of behaviour that is different from their own, but automatically assume that there is an inherent rightness about their own, and therefore a corresponding inadequacy where others differ from it:

"Can you lay eggs?" she asked.

"No!"

"Then you may hold your tongue!"

And the cat said, "Can you arch your back and purr and give out sparks?"

"No!"

"Then you shouldn't express an opinion when sensible people are talking!"²⁶

The reader is also made aware of the fluency of the hen's advice against the duckling's attempts to articulate:

"You don't understand!" said the duckling.

"Well, if we don't understand, then who could! It's certain you will never be cleverer than the cat and the old woman, not to mention myself! Don't show off, child! And thank your Maker for all the good things that have been done for you! Haven't you come into a warm room and found a social background you can learn something from?"²⁷

Andersen's demonstration of religious smugness in this flood of sanctimonious advice and rigid moral disapproval of the unfamiliar, is in perfect contrast to the values he represents with full sympathetic awareness at the close of *The Snow Queen*. The passage where Gerda's grandmother reads from the Bible "Except ye become as little children . . ." places an emphasis on innocence and humility that might superficially be compared to the hen's "Don't show off, child! And thank your Maker . . ." But the basic difference is of course that the grandmother is ranged on the side of those who are taught, those who have something to learn. She doesn't offer advice, and it is accidental from her point of view, though not from Andersen's, that she should be the one who reveals the meaning of Kay and Gerda's achievement. But the hen offering advice seems very firmly ranged together with the cat, the old woman, and God, as the all-wise arbitrators of social custom, and as the proper objects of the duckling's gratitude and devotion.

To say that these stories by Andersen demonstrate the way of love or the way of egoism might be a disastrous oversimplification. And to attempt an analysis of any writer with Andersen's qualities is inevitably to omit much and to oversimplify much. His work will repay far fuller and deeper study than I have been able to accord him here.²⁸ But the specific pleasure of reading Andersen is like the pleasure given by some kinds of poetry; that of finding the complex and subtle absorbed into a simple (not simplified)

and clear statement. Whereas the normal relationship between language and meaning is an uneasy one, here the relationship is so far mastered that neither is complexity of meaning reduced nor clarity of language impaired.

NOTES

- ¹ All quotations are from the edition *H. C. Andersen: Samlede Eventyr og Historier* (Jubilæumsudgave, Odense, 1961), and from the translation *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales* by L. W. Kingsland (Oxford, 1961). Another selection by Mr. Kingsland, including some of the tales less frequently translated, is published in *The World's Classics* (Oxford, 1959). It should perhaps be noted that Andersen writes *Eventyr og Historier* and that "fairy-tale" translates only *eventyr*.
- ² "The children made themselves merry for the most part over what might be called the actors, older people, on the contrary, were interested in the deeper meaning." — Hans Andersen's own comment on his stories, taken from *The True Story of my Life*, trans. Mary Howitt (London, 1926), p. 205.
- ³ "Roserne voxer i Dale, Der faae vi Barn-Jesus i Tale"; ed. pp. 215 ff., trans. pp. 218 ff.
There is a particularly close parallel here with Andersen's story *The Red Shoes*. When Gerda begins her search she offers the river her red shoes, her most precious possession, in return for news of Kay. In the story of *The Red Shoes* it is the shoes themselves that assume total importance in the life of the child Karen, so that delight in them overrides all other considerations and obligations. But when Karen has repented, and God's angel appears to her, "he was no longer holding his sharp sword: instead he carried a lovely green bough full of roses" ("han holdt ikke længer det skarpe Sværd, men en dejlig grøn Green, der var fuld af Roser"); ed. p. 259, trans. p. 277.
- ⁴ "Seer Du, hvor konstigt!" sagde Kay, "det er meget interessanter end med de virkelige Blomster! og der er ikke en eneste Feil ved dem, de ere ganske akkurate, naar de blot ikke smelte!"; ed. p. 216, trans. p. 221. The translation obscures one of Andersen's basic antitheses, that of *konstig* and *virkelig*, the artificial and the real, as in the stories of *The Nightingale* and *The Swineherd*.
- ⁵ "Roserne fra Tagrenden blomstrede ind ad de aabne Vinduer . . . de havde glemt som en tung Drøm den kolde, tomme Herlighed hos Sneedronningen"; ed. p. 235, trans. p. 255.
- ⁶ "Lad os være fornøiede," sagde den Gamle, "hoppe og springe ville vi i de trehundrede Aar, vi have at leve i"; ed. p. 65, trans. p. 71.
- ⁷ Andersen also uses the simile of the rose in his descriptions of Gerda and the little mermaid. Gerda's face was "like a rose," the little mermaid's skin "as clear and pure as a rose-petal."
- ⁸ "nu seiler han vist deroppe, ham som jeg holder mere af end Fader og Moder, ham som min Tanke hænger ved og i hvis Haand jeg vilde lægge mit Livs Lykke"; ed. pp. 65-6, trans. p. 72.
- ⁹ Gerda's sacrifice of her red shoes in *The Snow Queen*, though having less significance for the development of the story, is similarly the gift of her most precious possession.
- ¹⁰ "og rundt om saa det koldt og raat ud; . . . kun Slaaentornen stod med Frugt, saa stram og til at rimpe Munden sammen"; ed. p. 222, trans. p. 233.
- ¹¹ "det var et heelt Konststykke"; ed. p. 233, trans. p. 251.
- ¹² "Hans Lege blev nu ganske anderledes end før, de vare saa forstandige"; ed. p. 215, trans. p. 221.

- ¹³ "tænkte og tænkte, saa det knagede i ham"; ed. p. 233, trans. p. 252.
- ¹⁴ "selv Iisstykkerne dandsede af Glæde rundt om, og da de vare trætte og lagde sig, laae de netop i de Bogstaver, som Sneedronningen havde sagt, han skulde udfinde"; ed. p. 234, trans. p. 253.
- ¹⁵ "Der sad de begge To Voxne og dog Børn, Børn i Hjertet, og det var Sommer, den varme, velsignede Sommer"; ed. p. 235, trans. p. 255.
- ¹⁶ "Bedstemoder sad i Guds klare Solskin og læste høit i Bibelen: 'Uden at I blive som Børn, komme I ikke i Guds Rige!' Og Kay og Gerda saae hinanden ind i Øiet, og de forstode paa eengang den gamle Psalme:
 'Roserne voxte i Dale,
 Der faae vi Barn-Jesus i Tale';
 ed. p. 235, trans. p. 255.
- ¹⁷ "hun har dog ikke mere end to Been" . . . "hun har ingen Følehorn!" . . . "Hvor hun er styg!"; ed. p. 34, trans. p. 46.
- ¹⁸ "Jeg er for fiin for denne Verden! . . . Jeg har min gode Bevidsthed og det er altid en lille Fornøjelse!"; ed. p. 243, trans. p. 267.
- ¹⁹ "Jeg skulde næsten troe, at jeg er født af en Solstraale, saa fiin er jeg"; ed. p. 243, trans. p. 269.
- ²⁰ "havde jeg mit gamle Øie, som knak, saa troer jeg at jeg kunde græde!—skjøndt jeg gjorde det ikke — græde det er ikke fiint"; ed. p. 244, trans. p. 269. The pun here on implications of the word *fiin* is partially lost in the translation.
- ²¹ "Lakken var gaaet af den, og sort var den bleven, men sort gjør tyndere, og saa troede den, at den var endnu finere, end før"; ed. p. 244, trans. p. 269.
- ²² "jeg knækker! jeg knækker!"; ed. pp. 242, 244, trans. pp. 266, 269.
- ²³ "bare jeg ikke bliver søsyg," "jo finere man er, desmere kan man holde ud"; ed. p. 244, trans. p. 269.
- ²⁴ "men den knak ikke, skjøndt der gik et Vognmandslæs over, den laae paa langs —og der kan den blive liggende"; ed. p. 244, trans. p. 269.
- ²⁵ George Meredith's definition of the egoist seems too relevant to be omitted: "Consider him indulgently: the Egoist is the Son of Himself. He is likewise the Father. And the son loves the father, the father the son; they reciprocate affection through the closest of ties; and shall they view behaviour unkindly wounding either of them, not for each other's dear sake abhorring the criminal . . . Absorbed in their great example of devotion, they do not think of you. They are beautiful." George Meredith, *The Egoist* (Oxford, 1947), p. 415.
- ²⁶ "Kan Du lægge Æg?" spurgte hun.
 "Nei!"
 "Ja, vil Du saa holde din Mund!"
 Og Katten sagde, "Kan Du skyde Ryg, spinde og gnistre?"
 "Nei!"
 "Ja saa skal Du ikke have Mening, naar fornuftige Folk tale!"; ed. pp. 201-202, trans. p. 195.
- ²⁷ "I forstaae mig ikke!" sagde Ællingen.
 "Ja forstaae vi Dig ikke, hvem skulde saa forstaae Dig: Du vil dog vel aldrig være klogere end Katten og Konen for ikke at nævne mig! Skab Dig ikke, Barn! og tak Du din Skaber for alt det Gode, man har gjort for Dig! Er Du ikke kommen i en varm Stue og har en Omgang, Du kan lære noget af"; ed. p. 202, trans. pp. 196-197.
- ²⁸ See E. Bredsdorff, "Hans Christian Andersen: A Bibliographical Guide to his Works," *Scandinavica*, VI (1967), 26-42.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF JOHN MIRK'S FESTIAL

By MARTYN F. WAKELIN

Some of the existing manuscripts of John Mirk's *Festial* of English homilies are listed in J. E. Wells's *Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1100-1450*,¹ and some of them are described in detail in C. Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*.² Since neither list is complete, it is the object of this paper to enumerate and describe briefly all those manuscript versions which are known to me. In compiling this list, I have been fortunate enough to secure the expert advice of Professor Angus McIntosh on the dialect of the different hands in the texts (as also on many other matters, duly noted below). It has seemed simpler, instead of mentioning individually the dialect of every text, to give a map of localizations based on the work of Professor McIntosh and Professor M. L. Samuels on ME dialect material, and kindly supplied by Professor McIntosh. It should be emphasized that this map shows only provisional localizations, and should not be regarded as final. It does, however, suggest placings for the dialects of most of the texts. At the same time, I should also like to record my indebtedness to the following for their kindness in suggesting datings for various of the manuscripts: Mr. C. E. Wright of the British Museum, Miss Albinia de la Mare and the staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dr. Malcolm Parkes of Keble College, Oxford, Mr. Neil Ker, Mr. H. W. Pink of Cambridge University Library. I am indebted to Mr. R. M. Beaumont, Honorary Librarian of Southwell Minster, for allowing me access to the Southwell manuscript, and for much subsequent help and information; to Dr. A. I. Doyle for all the details of Durham University Library MS. Cosin V.III.5; to Mr. J. L. Hobbs, Borough Librarian and Curator of Shrewsbury, and Mr. D. S. Colman, Librarian of Shrewsbury School, both of whom have given generous assistance in my efforts to trace the "Shrewsbury" manuscript.

The *Festial*, or *Liber Festialis*, a collection of English homilies written for the use of unlettered clergy before 1415³ by John Mirk (fl. c. 1403, see *D.N.B.* s.v.),⁴ Prior of Lilleshall, Shropshire, was a popular compilation. This is clear not only from the number of early printed texts (Caxton and his successors printed nearly twenty editions between 1483 and 1532),⁵ but from the existence of twenty-six manuscripts (some containing only fragments or extracts of the work), a written copy of the printed text, and a translation into early modern Welsh. Further, a number of possible references to lost copies are collected from wills and chartularies by R. M. Wilson in *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*.⁶ From the order of the contents of the *Festial*, the manuscripts can be classified, generally speaking, into two types: in Group A, commencing with Advent Sunday, the homilies are given for

the sundays and feast-days as they occur through the Church year, together with homilies for various occasions, and these collections are usually prefaced by a prayer, and by a prologue of introductory matter; in Group B, the homilies are arranged *de temporibus et de sanctis*, i.e. the homilies for sundays and some of the major feasts are separated from those for saints' days, the latter being placed all together in the second half of the compilation. This latter arrangement conforms more closely with that of the Missal. Since the Group B manuscripts are not many more than half a dozen in number, only when a manuscript belongs to this group is it specifically stated below. The homilies in this group commence with Advent Sunday, and continue as far as Corpus Christi; they then recommence the liturgical year with S. Andrew (November 30th). Except for the expanded versions in MSS. Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV (see below, numbers 9 and 10, respectively), the contents of the versions belonging to Group B are very much smaller than most of those in Group A. The Group B manuscripts omit the prayer and prologue (but see MS. Durham University Library Cosin V.III.5, number 26, below), the homilies for S. Barnabas, S. Winifred, the homily on Nero, that for S. Alkmunde,⁷ and everything after the Dedication. Most of them also omit the homily De Dominica Prima Quadragesime and the first one for the Assumption. Finally, in all Group B manuscripts the homily for Good Friday and the explanation of the Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday ceremonies are reversed. Various omissions peculiar to one or other of the manuscripts need not be mentioned here, since they do not appear to be significant. It should be noted, however, that the textual affinities between the manuscripts of the two different groups do not appear to be as close as those which are observable between the manuscripts *within* each group. Before proceeding with the description of the manuscripts of the *Festial*, it only remains to be mentioned that numbered lists of the homilies in MS. Cotton Claudius A II (representing Group A) and MS. Harley 2371 (Group B) are given in an appendix to this paper for the purposes of comparison.

1. Cotton Claudius A II (British Museum)

- Contents:*
1. ff. 1b-123b **The Festival.**
 2. ff. 123b-126a The order for pronouncing excommunication.
 3. ff. 127a-152b Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*.
 4. ff. 152b-153a List of months of the year with various feasts.
 5. ff. 153b-154a Various ordinances of the popes.

All are in English except 4 (Latin). From its contents, the manuscript seems to have been compiled with pastoral needs in mind.

Date: 1425-50.⁸

The manuscript is of parchment, and contains four fly-leaves plus 154 numbered ff. The ff. are approx. 9½in. x 6¼in. in dimension, and there are 26-42 lines per side in the *Festial* section. The fly-leaves at the beginning appear to have once formed part of the directions and music for the Office of the Dead, while the two at the back are part of a litany.

In all, five hands can be distinguished,⁹ as follows: hand A - f. 1b, B - ff. 2a-237b, C - ff. 38a-126a, D - ff. 127a-152b, E - ff. 153b-154a. Hands A and E are too short for an assessment of their dialect, and are not shown on the map. The prayer and prologue at the beginning of the *Festial* are in red lettering, the first word, "God," having a large, ornamented initial. The *Festial* proper commences with a large red and blue initial in "Thys," and initials of the first words of homilies or new subjects throughout are ornamented. The manuscript is rubricated in red and blue as far as the end of the *Instructions*, the Latin portion is alternately in blue with red capitals or red with blue capitals, and ff. 153b-154a are not rubricated or embellished in any way. One of the characteristics of some of the manuscripts of the *Festial* is a pointing hand, and this is present from time to time, usually in the left-hand margin, the only other sketch being a seated dog (?), with human or animal head, at the bottom of f. 56a.

The *Festial* in MS. Cotton Claudius A II is the fullest of those extant, comprising, besides the prayer and prologue, seventy-four items.¹⁰ The homily De Dominica Prima Quadragesime (number 34), a special homily for the first sunday in Lent (as distinct from the usual Lent I composition, number 19), on the text of the day's Epistle, "Hortamur vos, ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis," should be particularly noted as of rare occurrence in the extant manuscripts, as should also its position, between the homilies for the Invention of the Holy Cross (May 3rd) and that for S. John Ante Portam Latinam (May 6th).¹¹ Of special interest, too, and also of comparatively rare occurrence, are the homilies for the feasts of S. Winifred (number 43) and S. Alkmunde (number 56), the homily on the death of Nero (number 46) and the homily on the Lord's Prayer (number 74).¹²

Description: C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. cxiii-cxvii.

2. Lansdowne 392 (British Museum)

Contents: 1. ff. 3a-95b **The Festial.**
2. ff. 96a-121b Six short Latin items, mostly relating to biblical matters.

Date: A little before 1450.¹³

The manuscript is of vellum except for two paper fly-leaves (ff. 1 and 2) at the front and one (f. 122) at the end, and contains in all 122 numbered ff. The ff. are approx. 10½ in. x 6½ in. in dimension, and there are 30-38 lines per side. The early ff. are very faded and discoloured, but the writing is neat, well-formed, clear, and easily legible apart from this. On f. 86a, at the beginning of line 13, however, the writing changes to a blacker colour, and becomes less neat. By the time it has reached the top of f. 86b the whole character of the hand has changed, although it remains the same hand. The titles of the homilies, and the first letter of each homily, are in red. There is additional rubrication in the first few ff., and then only very rarely afterwards. At the top of f. 3a an old but later hand has written, "This boke is called the ffestial of Englishe Sermones. necessari to simple Curates and

parishe priestes. p^r," and at the bottom of the page, "Actor libri dicit fuisse plommer," thus identifying the manuscript with the one mentioned by Thomas Hearne¹⁴ as loaned to him by his friend, Thomas Ward of Longbridge, near Warwick.

The *Festial* opens with a prayer and prologue,¹⁵ the opening prayer being different from that in any of the other manuscripts except MSS. Harley 2403, Cambridge University Library Dd.10.50 and Durham University Library Cosin V.III.5. It occurs, however, in the early printed editions (e.g. Caxton's of 1483 and Wynkyn de Worde's of 1493), and at the head of a homily in MS. Royal 18 B XXIII.¹⁶ Fifty-one homilies or parts of homilies follow the prologue, in the Cotton order, items 28, 34, 46, (most of) 47, 48 to 57 inclusive, 59 and everything after 64 except part of the homily on the Lord's Prayer (Cotton number 74) being omitted.¹⁷ Only the first ten lines of 47, the homily for the Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury, are present (f. 85b, line 24, to f. 86a, line 1), a large number of ff. apparently having been removed between ff. 85 and 86.¹⁸

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., p. cxviii.

3. Harley 2403 (British Museum)

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-191a **The Festial.**
2. ff. 191b-194a Explanation in English of the Apostles' Creed.

Date: 1475-1500.¹⁹

The manuscript is of parchment, and contains 194 ff. The ff. are approx. 7½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension (the edges of the leaves are uneven), and there are 28-32 lines per side. The two items are written in different hands, A and B, neither of them very neat. The *Festial* has homily titles and the first letter of each homily in red, and very rare rubrication otherwise; the second item has headings and the first letters of new subjects in red.

A reasonably full version of the *Festial* is present, the collection commencing with the prayer found only in MS. Lansdowne 392 and the other two manuscripts mentioned above. This is followed by the usual prologue, and continues with seventy homilies. Omitted are numbers 34, 46 and 56, while 72 and 73 seem to have been regarded by the scribe as one homily, there being only a line's space between the last words of 72 ("without devocion") and the beginning of 73 ("There was on a tyme a man"), and no red initial letter.²⁰ (The homily numbers refer to the Cotton order, see appendix.) Several ff. are missing between ff. 183 and 184, so that only the beginning of the homily Qui Sunt Sepeliendi in Cimiterio is present, f. 183b, lines 21-31, and the next homily, that on the Lord's Prayer (which in this manuscript immediately precedes the homily for the Salutation), starts in the middle of a sentence at the top of f. 184a, the first dozen or so lines being missing.

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., pp. cxvii-cxviii.

4. Harley 2417 (British Museum)

Contents: ff. 1a-87b (the entire manuscript) **The Festial.**

Date: A little before 1450.

The manuscript is of parchment, and contains 87 ff. The ff. are approx. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in dimension, and there are 30 lines per side. The manuscript is written in a small, uniform hand. The titles are in red, as are also the first initial of each homily and underlining of key-words and phrases. There is rubrication throughout, but no other embellishment.

The prayer and prologue are missing, and this version of the *Festial* appears to be unique in that it consists only of the *sanctorale*. The collection begins at the end of the usual order, with the last fourteen lines of the homily Qui Sunt Sepeliendi in Cimiterio (Erbe's edition, p. 298, line 30). This is followed by the homilies on the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of Our Lady, the Dedication of a church, and the Miracles of Our Lady. Then the order recommences at the beginning of the liturgical year with S. Andrew, S. Nicholas, etc., but omitting the *temporale*, and ending with All Souls. The homily for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross follows the homily for the Invention of the Holy Cross, instead of being in its usual place later in the collection. The whole of the homily for the Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury (ff. 50a-52a) is crossed through. From f. 84a onwards the leaves are quite badly stained, and the writing on ff. 86b and 87a is very faint, while the discoloration of f. 87b makes it virtually illegible. The homily for All Souls (which begins on f. 86a) obviously ends halfway down f. 87b, for a large red "G" stands out from the blackened page where a new homily begins with "Gode" In its present condition, the manuscript contains (including the fragments at the beginning and the end) forty-one items.

5. Harley 2250 (British Museum)

- Contents:*
1. ff. 1a-47b Versified English homilies on the subjects of feasts and sundays.
 2. ff. 48a-49b Versified English Lives of S. Martin and other saints.
 3. ff. 50a-64b Abridged version of the *Speculum Christiani*.
 4. ff. 64b-67b *Themata Dominicalia*.
 5. ff. 68a-72a *Diuisio Membrorum Capituli primi Diete prime*.
 6. ff. 72b-83b Versified Lives of saints (resumed).
 7. ff. 84a-87b **The Festial** (extracts).
 8. ff. 88a-108a Tract (in English) on the Ten Commandments, Vices and Virtues, etc.

Items 4 and 5 are in Latin, and are probably from Bonaventura's *Diaeta Salutis*.

Date: After 1477. At the end of the *Speculum Christiani*, on f. 64b, is written: "libro finito assint laudes Deo Amen Explicit Speculum Xpiani Anno doⁱ M^oCCCC^{mo} LXXVII^o Thomas Masse esquier." The manuscript was therefore probably put together in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. Notes on ff. 8a and 71a make it clear that at about the end of that century it was owned by Sir Thomas Boker or Bowker. On f. 75b there is a reference to one Elsebyt Bothe of Dunham Massey, Cheshire.²¹

The manuscript is of paper, and contains two fly-leaves (one at each end) plus 108 numbered ff. The leaves are very worn at the edges, and have been mounted on stiff paper backing (part of the left-hand edges probably thus being lost); at the present time they are approx. 11½ in. x 8 in. in dimension. In the latter half of the Mirk section the edges of the ff. are badly worn, f. 87 is very mutilated, and some of the text is missing. The extracts from the *Festial* are written in rather small script in double columns, there being 62-76 lines per column in this part of the manuscript. There is occasional rubrication, the first letter of each piece sometimes being in red.

The extracts from the *Festial* comprise the homily for Corpus Christi (without title), the explanation of the Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday ceremonies, headed in red "Deus Expediat me," the homily "De Festo Apostolorum philippi et Jacobi, sermo brevis,"²² and five exempla extracted from various of Mirk's homilies. These are equivalent to those printed in Erbe's edition on pp. 9, 91, 145, 146, and 248, respectively.²³

Edition (of "Deus Expediat me" only): Karl Young, *Speculum*, XI (1936), 224-31.

Description: *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, by H. L. D. Ward (London, 1893), 690, 738; III, by J. A. Herbert (London, 1910), 705-7. G. Holmstedt (ed.), *Speculum Christiani*. EETS, OS 182, 1933, pp. lxix-lxx.

6. Harley 1288 (British Museum)

- Contents*:
- | | | |
|--------|---------|--|
| 1. ff. | 1a-33a | The <i>Speculum Christiani</i> . |
| 2. ff. | 34a-60a | Latin exempla. |
| 3. ff. | 64a-75b | Version of Richard Lavynham's <i>Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins</i> . |
| 4. ff. | 76a-81b | A general confession in English. |
| 5. ff. | 81b-86b | Chapters 24 and 25 of the <i>Chastising of God's Children</i> . |
| 6. ff. | 86b-87b | Passage on pollution. |
| 7. f. | 87b | Part of an item on the feast of the Holy Name (seven lines). |
| 8. ff. | 88a-90a | The Festial (extracts). |
| ... | 9. ff. | 91a-105b Latin version of the <i>Contes Moralises</i> of Nicholas Bozon. |

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.

The first 90 ff. of the manuscript are of vellum, ff. 91-105 are of paper and vellum. There are in all 105 ff. plus one fly-leaf at the end. The ff. are approx. 8½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension, and there are 29-30 lines per side in the *Festial* section.

The first part of the manuscript (i.e. ff. 1-90) is neatly and clearly written in a single hand but in two slightly differing dialects, shown on the map as 6.¹ (ff. 4b-16b, the English part of the *Speculum Christiani*) and 6.² (the remainder of the first part of the manuscript, including the *Festial* extracts), respectively, in order to distinguish two dialects in the hand of a single scribe. Ff. 91-105 are in a different hand. The titles of the Mirk exempla are in red, with the first letter of each exemplum alternately in red

and blue. There is no other rubrication in this part of the manuscript. On f. 61b is scribbled, "Robert Ri . . son of the toun of Lynkecoun (?)," which would seem to confirm a Lincolnshire provenance for the manuscript (see map, below).²⁴

The extracts from the *Festial* comprise five exempla and a half of a sixth. The incomplete one comes first, commencing about halfway through the story, and is the last one for the feast of the Purification (Erbe's edition, p. 61). The other five exempla are equivalent to those to be found in Erbe's edition, pp. 113, 125, 173 (line 11), 271 (line 2), and 270, respectively.

Description: *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 100-5, 681-6.

J. P. W. M. Van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham O. Carm.* (Rome, 1956), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

G. Holmstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. liii-liv.

See also J. Bazire and E. Colledge (eds.), *The Chastising of God's Children* (Oxford, 1957), p. 5.

7. Harley 2371 (British Museum)

- Contents:*
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. ff. 1a-141b | The Festial. |
| 2. ff. 142a-148a | Tract in English containing advice on spiritual matters (f. 148b contains a legend, but is probably part of the tract). |
| 3. f. 149a | Latin poem to Our Lady. |

Date: c. 1475-1500.

The manuscript is of paper, and contains 149 ff. The ff. are approx. 8in. x 5½in. in dimension, and in the *Festial* section there are 28-30 lines per side, written in one rather neat hand, and without rubrication except for some red decoration on the blue initial letter of each homily. There are no titles.

MS. Harley 2371 is the first manuscript so far mentioned to divide the contents of the *Festial* into a *temporale* and a *sanctorale*, and falls into the Group B classification (see above). It will be noted from the list of contents in the appendix to this paper that, in common with the other Group B manuscripts, there is no prayer or prologue. The collection commences with a fragment of the Advent Sunday homily (Erbe's edition, p. 4, line 29), and ends with an ink-blackened fragment of the Dedication homily (f. 141b, bottom). Several ff. are missing between ff. 73 and 74, and only the ends of the leaves remain: the homily for S. Thomas of Canterbury commences at f. 73b, line 12, but has been blackened with ink. It breaks off abruptly at the bottom of the page, and at the top of f. 74a the homily for New Year's Day begins. The homily for the Translation of S. Thomas has also been removed: the first eleven lines are present on f. 104b, and then the homily for S. Margaret's day starts (in the middle of a sentence) at the top of f. 105a. The homily for Quadragesima Sunday is entirely omitted. Including the fragments, there are altogether sixty-one homilies.

8. Harley 2391 (British Museum)

- Contents:*
- | | | |
|--------|-----------|--|
| 1. ff. | 1a-1b | "Prognostica ex dies natalis domini" (Latin). |
| 2. ff. | 2a-133a | The Festial. |
| 3. ff. | 133a-134a | Story and some fragments in English. |
| 4. ff. | 134a-138b | The form (in English) for exhorting and examining a penitent. |
| 5. ff. | 138b-156a | English homilies. |
| 6. ff. | 156b-230b | Legendary tales in English verse for use on the sundays of the year. |
| 7. ff. | 231a-235b | Latin exempla. |
| 8. ff. | 235b-238a | Homily (in English) on the Seven Deadly Sins. |
| 9. f. | 238b | English fragment (unidentified). |

Date: c. 1450.²⁵

The manuscript is of paper, and contains a fly-leaf at each end and 238 numbered ff. The ff. are approx. 8½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension, but the left-hand edges of the leaves have been lost in a new binding. There are 28-32 lines per side in the *Festial* section. The *Festial*, and everything up to f. 156a, is written in one hand, A, but the remainder of the manuscript is in two hands, B (ff. 156b-230b) and C (ff. 231a-238b). Ff. 1a-1b are probably in yet another hand. The dialects of hands B and C are very similar (see map, below). The manuscript is unrubricated, but, except in the first two homilies, spaces have nearly always been left for the customary large initial at the beginning of each homily. There are no titles. On f. 230b, at the end of item 6, is written, "Amen quod Johannes Smyth," presumably the scribe of this section.

The contents of the *Festial* are divided into a *temporale* and a *sanctorale*, and are similar to those of MS. Harley 2371 (above). The whole of the homily for the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas is missing, however, together with the end of that for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul and the beginning of that for the feast of S. Mary Magdalene. Further, only the first twelve lines of the homily for the Ember Days are present, and the last thirteen of the homily for S. Matthew's day. There are thus two lacunae, one between ff. 100 and 101, and one between ff. 121 and 122. The collection ends with the homily for S. Katherine's day, and underneath this:

Amen Amen Amen
felic dicetr cum felix finis habet

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., pp. cxx-cxxi.
Catalogue of Romances, III, 333-6, 708-9.

9. Harley 2247 (British Museum)

Contents: ff. 1a-213b **The Festial.**

F. 214 is mostly scribbling, but has a two-line narratio at the top of f. 214a, relating to the feast of All Saints. F. 215 has some references to the contents of the *Festial*, perhaps in a later hand.

Date: Towards the end of the fifteenth century. "About the times of King Edward IV and King Henry VII." according to the *Catalogue of Harley manuscripts*. Miss Lillian Steckman (in *Studies in Philology*,

XXXIV, 1937, 36-48) proposes a more precise dating, along with MS. Royal 18 B XXV (below), of 1483, suggesting that both this and the Royal manuscript were later revisions, written specifically for the public as distinct from the clergy, and with an independent use of Mirk's sources.

The manuscript is partly of paper and partly of parchment, and contains 215 ff. plus one unnumbered leaf. The ff. are approx. 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. in dimension, and have 27-39 lines per side, being more closely written at the beginning of the book. The manuscript is written in a single hand. The first letter is a large blue "W" in "Worshipfull frendes," and thereafter the first letter of each homily is in red. There is no other rubrication, but brown underlining is frequent, and the first letter of each large, clear Latin title is often turned into a sketch of a grotesque head or the like, or decorated and embellished. There are marginal notes in a contemporary hand, and a lot more in a later hand. Some of the latter refer to Queen Elizabeth I, and several to one Thomas Miles of Milton Hernes. The word "Pope" is twice crossed out on f. 192a.

The version of the *Festial* in this manuscript (and also in the next) is expanded both in contents and text. Omitting the prayer and prologue, the collection commences with three homilies for Advent Sunday, and comprises altogether ninety items, there being one or two extra homilies for many of the feasts.²⁶ It is arranged *de temporibus et de sanctis* like the two preceding manuscripts. The homily for the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas is omitted: the title is given at the bottom of f. 169a, but f. 169b begins on line 1 with a homily for the feast of the Holy Relics.²⁷

10. Royal 18 B XXV (British Museum)

Contents: ff. 1a-139b **The Festial.**

F. 140 (fly-leaf) contains a form of a certificate (in Latin) by a priest that he has shriven a penitent, with the date 1534. On f. 141 there are pasted slips of paper with fifteenth-century sermon notes, one lot in English, and two in Latin.

Date: c. 1475. Steckman, op. cit., suggests 1483.

The manuscript is of paper, except for a fly-leaf, f. 140, which is of vellum, and contains 141 ff. and one further, unnumbered, leaf. The ff. are approx. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in dimension, and there are 35-44 lines per side closely written in a single hand. The first letter is a large red "W" in "Worschypfull frendys"; there is no further rubrication, but spaces have been left for the first initial of each homily. At the beginning the titles are occasionally missing, sometimes they are inserted in the margin, and towards the end they are omitted altogether. As far as, and including, f. 5a, and occasionally later, someone has annotated the text in the left- and right-hand margins, giving a summary. There are also several pointing hands.

The contents of the manuscript are very similar to those of MS. Harley 2247. The prayer and prologue are omitted again, and the collection, expanded in text and with several new homilies for some feasts, is arranged *de temporibus et de sanctis*. There are ninety items,²⁸ including the last one, In Die Sepulture, which is incomplete, and a narratio as a sort of short

appendage (f. 122a) to the homilies on the Assumption. There is no homily for the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas, but there is one for the Holy Relics. In the earlier part of the manuscript the homilies occasionally break off, and the reader is directed to another part of the manuscript to find the remainder.

11. Royal 18 B XXIII (British Museum)

- Contents:*
- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. ff. 1a-37b | Homilies, etc., in Latin. |
| 2. ff. 39a-156b | Homilies in English, including three homilies from The Festial , ff. 49a-50a, 72b-73b and 148b-149a respectively. |
| 3. ff. 157b-158b | Notes in Latin and English on religious subjects. |
| 4. ff. 159a-165b | Index to the English homilies. |
| 5. ff. 166a-173b | Homilies in English (resumed). |
- F. 174a contains a now almost illegible license issued in 1560 to one Peter Cooke of Exning (Suffolk), allowing him to be a buyer of various commodities.²⁹

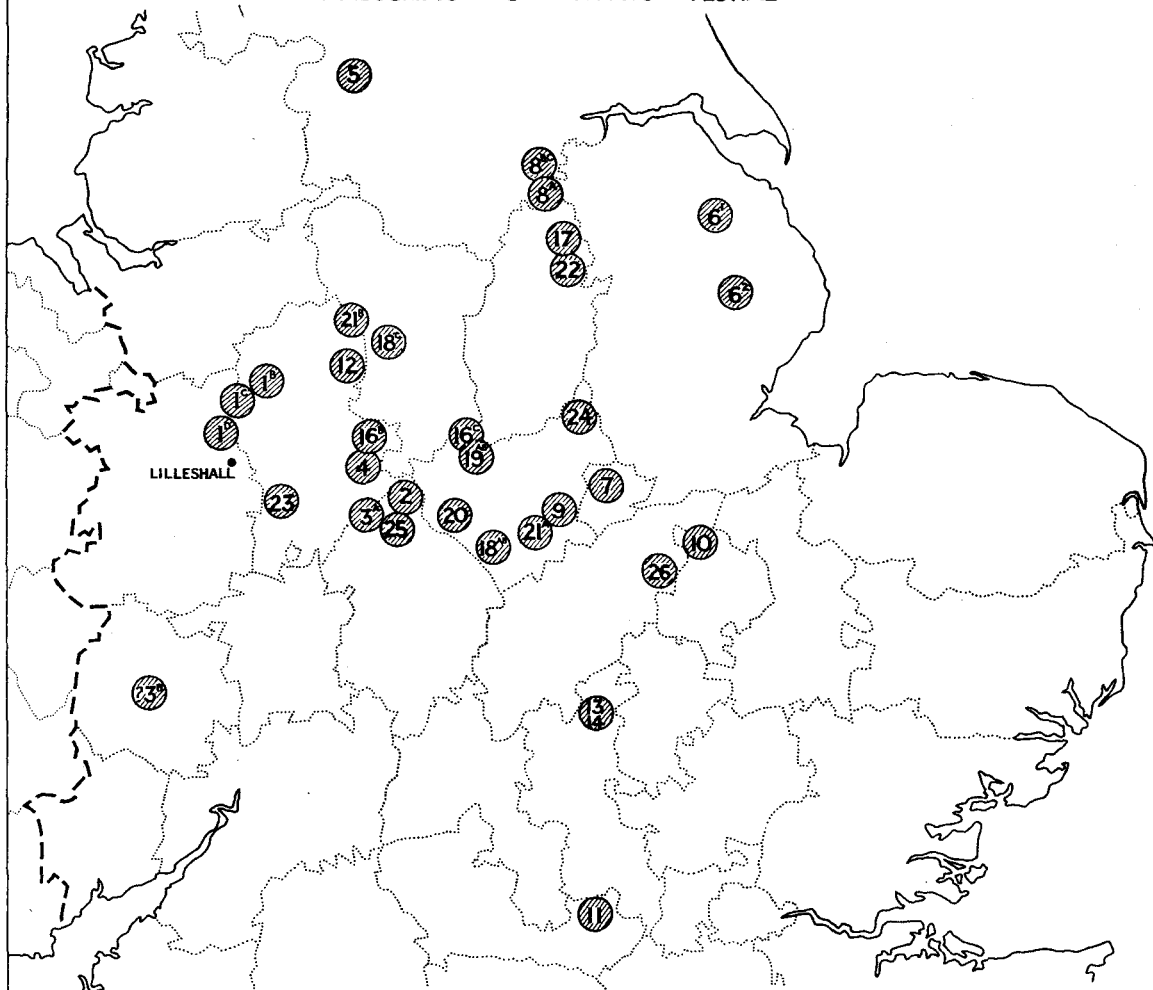
Date: 1450-1500.

The manuscript is mostly of paper, but f. 174 and several other leaves are of vellum. It contains 174 ff. The ff. are approx. 11½ in. x 8½ in. in dimension, and in the *Festial* sections there are 40-43 lines per side. The manuscript is written by several hands — it is not quite clear at the moment how many: Dr. W. O. Ross, its editor, distinguishes six — but the first two of Mirk's pieces are in one single hand (Ross's Hand 1), while the third is in quite a different hand (Ross's Hand 4). There is no rubrication or decoration anywhere: spaces were left for the usual coloured initials, but have never been filled. The scribal signature "Quod Thomas Looke" or "Quod Looke" appears at the end of six homilies in the Latin section, on the first three of which it is crossed out. It also occurs in eighteen of the English homilies, including the first two by Mirk.³⁰ Other scribbled names (of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) occur: James Robinson and Giles Robynson on f. 16a, John Graunge on f. 21a, and Oleuer Bregman on f. 64a.

The dialect of the manuscript is probably to be localized in the south midlands: Professor M. L. Samuels suggests east Berkshire, and more precisely somewhere near Waltham St. Lawrence. The dialect is apparently fairly uniform throughout (though there are some northern forms), and the linguistic characteristics taken as a whole suggest this provenance. Dr. Ross suggests that "such dialectal differences among the various sermons and sermon groups as may have existed at first have been practically obliterated."³¹ He assigns the dialect to the SW Midlands, and suggests that the collection was put together at Oxford.³²

Edition (but excluding Mirk's homilies): W. O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons*. EETS, OS 209, 1940.

TENTATIVE LOCALISATIONS OF THE DIALECTS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF MIRK'S FESTIAL



- 1 Cotton
- 2 Lansdowne 392
- 3 Harley 2403
- 4 Harley 2417
- 5 Harley 2250 (only *Festial* hand shown:
the dial. of some of the other parts is
Cheshire)
- 6 Harley 1288
- 7 Harley 2371
- 8 Harley 2391
- 9 Harley 2247
- 10 Royal 18 B XXV
- 11 Royal 18 B XXIII
- 12 Gough
- 13 Douce 60
- 14 Douce 108
- 15 Hatton 96
- 16 Rawlinson A 381

- 17 Univ. Coll. Oxford 102
- 18 C.U.L. Dd.10.50
- 19 C.U.L. Ee.2.15 (only *Festial* hands
shown: hand B is probably very slightly
to the NW of A)
- 20 C.U.L. FF.2.38
- 21 C.U.L. Nn.3.10
- 22 Caius
- 23 Southwell
- 24 Brotherton (only *Festial* hand shown)
- 25 New College
- 26 Durham
- No localization is shown for MSS.:
- 27 St. John's Coll. Camb. G 19
- 29 Havod 22

12. Gough Ecclesiastical Top. 4 (Bodleian Library)

Contents: ff. 1a-164a **The Festial.**

F. 164b has various notes and scribblings in English, including what looks like a recipe for a medicine.

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.

The manuscript, except for the fly-leaves, which are of paper, is of parchment, and contains two fly-leaves (one at each end) plus 164 numbered ff. The ff. are approx. 8½in. x 6in. in dimension, and there are 31-34 lines per side. The *Festial* is written in a single, clear hand, but from f. 99b up to and including f. 114a, and in some later portions, the leaves are a bit rubbed in places, and therefore faint. The initial "G" of "Gode" on f. 1a is in blue with red embellishment, and the other first letters are in red. The titles and headings are in red, except for the first one, "Advent Sondag," which is in brown ink, and written in the right-hand margin, possibly in a different hand. There is rubrication throughout. The manuscript is annotated in a fainter, presumably later, hand, in the margin, and there are occasional pointing hands drawn in the left-hand margin. The manuscript ends halfway down f. 164a, with "Explicit Liber Festiuale," and underneath, "Tho: Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk." (This same Tho. Martin has also signed his name on the first fly-leaf and on f. 1a.) At the top of f. 164b is written, "Liber iste attenet Henryco Gonner (or ? Bonner) Rycm'swort³³ Manente."

The *Festial* commences with the usual prayer, in red, but there is no prologue, apart from the "hic incipit liber qui vocatr festiuale." It has sixty-nine items, including homilies for S. Winifred and S. Alkmunde and the Denarracio de Morte Neronis, and ending with the homily on the Lord's Prayer.

Edition: Th. Erbe, *Mirk's Festial*. EETS, ES 96, 1905.

13. Douce 60 (Bodleian Library)

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-146b **The Festial.**

2. ff. 147a-189a *Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests.*

3. ff. 189a-192b **The Festial** (homily for All Saints).

4. ff. 193a-213a Richard Lavynham's *Treatise* on the Seven Deadly Sins.

5. ff. 213a-228a Form of confession in English, with notes on the Seven Principal Virtues and similar matters.

The manuscript was obviously compiled with pastoral needs in mind.

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.³⁴

The manuscript is of paper, and contains one fly-leaf plus 231 numbered ff. These really amount to 239, since ff. 62, 66, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92 and 97 are duplicated. At the end, f. 229 is the real fly-leaf, and ff. 230 and 231 consist of a double sheet stuck in later, and bearing a list of the contents of the *Festial*. The ff. are approx. 7½in. x 5½in. in dimension, and in the *Festial* sections there are 15-26 lines per side. The manuscript is written in one hand, rubricated throughout, and with Mirk's homily titles in red. Ff. 146b and 228b contain notes of payments of Welsh rents owing to Sir John Davyys, partly in 1492-4. These notes show that the book was in the hands of a

priest on the Hereford-Wales border at Pencoyd, about eight miles south of Hereford, at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁵

MS. Douce 60 is in the same hand as MS. Douce 108 (see below) and the version of Mirk's *Instructions* which is contained in MS. Douce 103.³⁶ All three manuscripts are to be assigned a midland provenance, and may probably be more precisely localized in NE Buckinghamshire (the Bletchley-Fenny Stratford area) or in Northamptonshire. Since both MSS. Douce 60 and Douce 103 contain notes relating them to Herefordshire at the end of the fifteenth century, it is possible that parts of their contents (but not necessarily the *Festial*) could be a midland rewriting of a SW original.³⁷ Up to the present, however, research into their language has not revealed any SW underlay.

The *Festial* has neither prayer nor prologue, but commences with the homily for the Nativity of Our Lady, and ends with that for the feast of All Saints. The homilies, which number forty-four altogether, are not arranged in any *overall* chronological sequence, but fall into groups, some of which are identical with those in MS. Douce 108 (below), e.g.: the Nativity, Conception, and Purification of Our Lady (at the very beginning of the collection); S. Margaret, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Katherine; S. John Baptist, S. Michael, the Ember Days; S. George, S. Mark, SS. Philip and James, the Invention of the Holy Cross, S. John Ante Portam Latinam.³⁸ This manuscript and the following one are the only versions to include a homily for the Second Sunday in Advent, apart from the expanded *Festial* in MS. Harley 2247.

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., pp. cxix-cxx.

J. P. W. M. Van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham O. Carm.* (Rome, 1956), pp. xlii-xliii.

14. Douce 108 (Bodleian Library)

Contents: pp. 1-350 (the entire manuscript) **The Festial.**

Latin interpolations occur on pp. 205 and 282.

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.³⁹

The manuscript is of paper, and contains two initial fly-leaves plus 354 numbered pages, pp. 351-4 being the end fly-leaves. The pp. really amount to 358, since pp. 203 and 281 are triplicated. The pp. are approx. 8½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension, and there are 19-25 lines per p. The manuscript is written in a single hand. There is a certain amount of rubrication, and some of the titles and the initial letters of some homilies are in red, but rubrication is used very sparingly between pp. 65 and 112, 175 and 203, and after 270.

As in MS. Douce 60, the version of the *Festial* present here is a much abridged one: there are the usual prayer and prologue and forty-four homilies, commencing with the homily for Advent Sunday, and ending with that for the feast of the Circumcision.⁴⁰ The collection follows the order of the Church's year much more closely than the collection in MS. Douce 60 does, but there are many gaps and some considerable diversions from the strict order of, for example, MS. Cotton Claudius A II.

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., p. cxix.

15. Hatton 96 (Bodleian Library)

- Contents:**
- | | | |
|--------|----------|---|
| 1. ff. | 3a-6b | The Festial (homily for Christmas Day). |
| 2. ff. | 7a-8b | Latin homilies for Christmas and Advent. |
| 3. ff. | 8b-92a | Collection of short homilies in English. |
| 4. ff. | 92b-305a | The Festial (some Latin homilies and others are interpolated). |

Date: Mid-fifteenth century. An added note on f. 256b referring to the death of Robert Whytt, B.A., probably refers to the Robert Whyte in A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1957-9), III, 2042-3, who died in 1461.

The manuscript is of paper, except for ff. 3 and 9, which are of parchment. It contains 307 numbered ff., including the two fly-leaves at each end of the manuscript, but these really amount to 309 ff., since f. 137 is triplicated. The ff. are approx. $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. x $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. in dimension, except for ff. 213-217, which are larger ($7\frac{7}{8}$ in. x $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and form a separate insertion. In the *Festial* sections there are 25-36 lines per side.

At least four different hands, and possibly five or six, are represented in the manuscript.⁴¹ The greater part of it was written by a scribe whose hand may be designated A. It is not clear, however, whether or not hand A may, in fact, be the work of not one but three scribes. For the time being, these three apparent varieties are labelled A¹, A² and A³, rather than A, B and D (each letter corresponding to the order of the first appearance of the hand or variety of hand), which would automatically suggest three different hands. Hand A, whether the work of one scribe or three, has written all the manuscript (ignoring one or two small scraps of English) except for ff. 135a-136a, 213a-217b (which, as noted above, form a separate quire), and 262a-301b, line 9. These are written in three other, and quite distinct, hands, labelled, in accordance with the order of their first appearances in the manuscript, C, E and F, respectively.

There is no rubrication or decoration in the manuscript. Spaces have been left for the usual large initial letters, but have never been filled.

The manuscript as a whole shows an amazing variety of different dialects, tentatively divided by Professor McIntosh into eighteen different kinds, and all of a west central or central midland character. The portions written in hands C, E and F present comparatively little difficulty: C, a very late hand, uses a standardized kind of dialect, distinct from the other varieties, and presumably much modified by the scribe himself; E is likewise all in one dialect not found elsewhere in the manuscript; F, however, is linguistically very close to three passages of A¹, and probably drew on the same text as that used by the scribe of A¹ for these three. The quite unusual dialectal diversity chiefly occurs in hand A, and its very abnormality is an argument in favour of A being not three hands but one. The changes of dialect nearly all occur at the beginning of new sections, not usually in the middle of the text, thus seeming to imply that there was some definite plan behind the writer's diversity, involving the choice of different exemplars, often varying dialectally quite widely from each other, as the work proceeded. Finally, the fact that some of the dialects represented correspond closely with the regular dialect of some of the other manuscripts of the

Festial may prove to have an important bearing on the question of *textual* relationships. This, however, awaits further investigation.

There are no prayer and prologue for the *Festial* homilies. The manuscript opens with Mirk's homily for Christmas Day (ff. 3a-6b), and is followed (f. 8b) by a collection of short homilies, not by Mirk but in his style. The *Festial* proper commences at f. 92b, with the homily for the Rogation Days, and continues, interrupted from time to time by some Latin homilies and others, to f. 260b (the end of the homily for the Purification). The *Festial* then begins again at Advent Sunday (f. 262a), and continues to the end of the homily for Pentecost (f. 305a). This section (viz. ff. 262a-305a) duplicates some of the homilies of the group immediately preceding. There are altogether some sixty homilies by Mirk in the book.

16. Rawlinson A. 381 (Bodleian Library)

- Contents:*
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. ff. 1b-2b | The order for pronouncing excommunication. |
| 2. ff. 3a-6b | <i>Libellus de Doctrina Simplicium</i> (dealing with the spiritual life). |
| 3. ff. 7a-106b | The Festial. |
| 4. ff. 107a-115a | Exposition of the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins. |

All the contents are in English.

Date: Mid-fifteenth century, probably c. 1440-55 from the style of the illuminated border.

The manuscript is of parchment, and contains 115 numbered ff. plus one fly-leaf at the end. The ff. are approx. 11½ in. x 7½ in. in dimension. The manuscript is clearly and neatly written in double columns with 38 lines per column. It is possible to distinguish three hands, as follows: hand A - ff. 1b-2b, probably of a north central midlands provenance, but too short to place at all accurately, B - ff. 3a-6b and 107a-115a, C - ff. 7a-106b. The manuscript is one of the most lavishly decorated of all the manuscripts of the *Festial*, which, generally speaking, are fairly plain. F. 7a has a beautifully illuminated border consisting of a gold-leaf frame with pink, green and blue flowers twining round it, and the first letter, the "T" of "This," also decorated with flowers, and on a gold-leaf background. The *Festial* is rubricated throughout in red and blue. The first letter of each homily is in blue, decorated with red tracery, and the homily titles are in red.

The contents of the *Festial* are divided into a *temporale* and a *sanctorale*, and the collection belongs, therefore, to the Group B classification. Like the other collections of this group, it has no prayer or prologue. It has sixty-three items, ending with the homily for the Dedication.

17. University College Oxford 102 (Bodleian Library)

- Contents:*
- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| 1. pp. 1-261 | The Festial. |
| 2. pp. 261-7 | Two short Latin treatises. |
- P. 268 contains accounts ("for making a gyrken and buttens viii^d," etc.), and pp. 269-70 have a contents list in a later hand. P. 271 is blank.

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.

The manuscript is of paper, except for the fly-leaf at the beginning, which is of very faded, stained and wrinkled parchment. It contains two fly-leaves, one at each end, and 271 numbered pp. The pp. are approx. $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. x $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. in dimension, and there are 26-31 lines per p. in the *Festial* section. The manuscript is neatly written in one hand, and is easily legible; it is rubricated up to and including p. 119. The margin contains occasional scribblings in a different hand. The first side of the fly-leaf at the beginning is mainly illegible, but the second side contains some Latin collects, so far unidentified.

The version of the *Festial* extant in MS. University College Oxford 102 belongs to Group B, and in common with the other manuscripts of this group omits the prayer and prologue. It comprises sixty-one items, commencing with the homily for Advent Sunday, and ending with that for the Dedication. At the end of the *Festial* is written, "Ihc est Amor meus."

18. Cambridge University Library Dd.10.50

Contents: ff. 1a-158b (the entire manuscript) **The Festial.**

Date: Fifteenth century.

The manuscript is of paper, except for the vellum fly-leaf, and contains the one fly-leaf at the beginning plus 158 numbered ff. and also two blank, unnumbered leaves at each end of the book. The ff. are approx. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. x $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. in dimension, and there are 25-36 lines per side, the writing being closer from about f. 144b.

The manuscript is written by four different hands, as follows: hand A - ff. 1a-13a, B - ff. 13a-14b, C - ff. 15a-end except for D's contribution, D - f. 43b, line 12 to bottom and the top five lines of f. 56a. Hands A and B are linguistically very similar, but there is too little of D to be able to localize the dialect with any certainty. There is rubrication throughout the manuscript, and the initial letter of each homily is in red. The homily titles are mostly in black, but some are in red from f. 129b onwards. For some obscure reason, some of the titles are crossed through. The second homily for the Assumption has no title. There are doodlings (in red) and also some marginal notes. The fly-leaf, although now very faint, is written on in Latin vertically: over the vertical script, on the recto side is written horizontally, "This MS. belongs to John Worthington, Fellow of S. Peter's College in Cambridge.

The *Festial* commences with the prayer which occurs in MSS. Harley 2403, Lansdowne 392 and Durham University Library Cosin V.III.5 alone of the other texts, and this is followed by the usual prologue. There are fifty-eight homilies, and a fragment (twenty-one lines) of another one — that for the feast of SS. Simon and Jude. Here the collection breaks off. The local homilies are also omitted, as are the homily De Dominica Prima Quadragesime (Cotton number 34) and the homily on Nero (Cotton number 46).

19. Cambridge University Library Ee.2.15

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-16b **The Festial.**

2. ff. 18a-112b English poetry (including a version of *Dame Constance* ff. 18a-23b; poems on *S. Edmund* ff. 48a-51b, and *S. ffremond* ff. 83a-84b, by Lydgate; and *pe Chartur* (on the Passion) ff. 107a-111a).

Date: Fifteenth century.

The manuscript is of paper, and contains 112 ff. The ff. are approx. 11½in. x 8in. in dimension, and there are 28-32 lines per side in the *Festial* section. There are probably two similar, but distinct, hands in the *Festial*, viz. hand A - ff. 1a-15a line 16, B - f. 15a line 17 to f. 16b bottom. The remainder of the manuscript may be in one or more different hands. There is no rubrication in the *Festial*, but spaces have been left for large initials and the titles. The titles have, however, been written in the margin. There is also an occasional pointing hand.

The *Festial* comprises eight homilies only, from S. Nicholas to S. Thomas of Canterbury (Cotton number 10) in the Cotton order.

20. Cambridge University Library Ff.2.38

Note—The ff. of this manuscript are now numbered in the order 28-39, 19-21, 3-18, 40-261; ff. 1, 2, 22-27 and 262-81 are lost.

Contents: 1. ff. 35b-39b and f. 40a **The Festial.**

2. Remainder of manuscript: Romances and religious works (including *Guy*, *Earl of Warwick*, *Sir Degare*, etc.).⁴²

Date: Fifteenth century.

The manuscript is of paper, and contains in all 247 ff. The ff. are approx. 11½in. x 8in. in dimension. The manuscript is written in double columns with 39-44 lines per column in the *Festial* section. There seems to be only one hand, except that ff. 93a-160b look rather different from the rest of the manuscript. There is no rubrication except for large initials in a dark red colour.

The *Festial* is represented by three homilies only, viz. those for S. Mary Magdalene, S. Margaret, and S. Thomas of Canterbury (Cotton number 5), in this order. The last named is crossed through, except for the last (separate) portion, on f. 40a.

21. Cambridge University Library Nn.3.10

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-28b *The Cordyal* (English prose; according to the Catalogue, this is a copy of Caxton's printed edition of 1479. It is incomplete).

2. ff. 29a-85a **The Festial.**

At the end of the *Festial* on f. 85a there appears to be a list of accounts.

Date: Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The Catalogue gives c. 1500.⁴³

The manuscript is of paper, and contains 85 ff. The ff. are approx. 8½in. x 5½in. in dimension, and there are 22-28 lines per side in the *Festial* section. There is probably only one hand: the script of the first item is larger than that of the *Festial*, but should be compared with, e.g. ff. 61b, 62a, 80b (all parts of the *Festial*), which are similar. The dialects of the two items are, however, remarkably different: suggested localizations are shown on the map, designated 21A and 21B, respectively. There is no rubrication, but large initials are sometimes expanded into faces, and there are occasional drawings. The first few homilies (and also some of the later ones) lack titles.

There are nineteen homilies in the *Festial*, not including a fragment (eight lines) of the homily for the Assumption on ff. 73a-73b. There are no prayer

and prologue. The collection commences with the homily De Dominica Prima Quadragesime, commencing at "Wherefore he seys by þe prophetys" (Erbe's edition, p. 87, line 25), and ends with the homily for Sexagesima Sunday. The homilies are arranged in three groups.⁴⁴ The homily for the Assumption is, as noted, fragmentary: it breaks off on f. 73b, and the rest of the page is occupied with scribbles. F. 74a commences something new — it looks like part of a treatise on excommunication — which, however, gives way to a new homily (for Septuagesima Sunday) at the top of f. 76a.

22. Caius College Cambridge 168/89

Contents: pp. 1-336 (the entire manuscript) **The Festial.**

Date: Mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁵

The manuscript is of paper, except for the vellum fly-leaves, and contains the two fly-leaves at the beginning plus 336 numbered pages. The pp. are approx. 8½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension, and there are 31 lines per p. written in one uniform fairly good hand. There is rubrication throughout, including some red capitals.

The *Festial* has the usual prayer and prologue and seventy items.⁴⁶ It includes the homilies for the local feasts, but omits the homily for the Conception of Our Lady, the homily De Dominica Prima Quadragesime, and everything after Qui Sunt Sepeliendi in Cimiterio.

Description: C. Horstmann, op. cit., p. cxvii.

23. Southwell (Southwell Minster)

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-171b **The Festial.**

2. ff. 172a-202b **Lives of Saints (in English).**

Date: Just after 1500.⁴⁷

The manuscript is of paper except for vellum fly-leaves, and contains three fly-leaves (one at the beginning and two at the end) plus 202 numbered ff. The ff. are approx. 11½ in. x 8 in. in dimension, and there are 33-38 lines per side. The manuscript is written in a single hand, and is rubricated. The first fly-leaf is a page from a Latin theological treatise, illuminated in red and blue; the ones at the end contain music.

The *Festial* has the usual prologue but no prayer. It contains seventy-one homilies, omitting De Dominica Prima Quadragesime, S. Alkmunde and the Miracles of Our Lady, but including the homily for S. Winifred and the homily on the Lord's Prayer.

24. Brotherton (Brotherton Collection, Leeds University)

Contents: 1. ff. 1a-116b **The Festial.**

2. ff. 117a-138b **Late fifteenth-century Sequentiale (Latin), with partial interlinear gloss in English.**

Date: c. 1450.⁴⁸

The manuscript is of paper, and contains 138 ff. The ff. are approx. 8½ in. x 5½ in. in dimension, and there are 28-36 lines per side in the *Festial* section. The *Festial* is written in a single hand, rubricated and with initial letters in red on ff. 1a-73b, 82a-85a, 94a/b. There are no titles. An occasional pointing hand appears in the margin.

The version of the *Festial* here present conforms to the Group B type. It commences with the end of the homily for Quinquagesima Sunday, and has fifty-five items, whole or in part. Several homilies at the beginning are missing, and towards the end (from f. 100 onwards) the edges of the ff. begin to wear away badly and get gradually worse. The last item is a fragment of the homily for All Souls' day. The homily for Easter Sunday is missing, together with portions of the homilies which precede and follow it (viz. those for Good Friday and the Rogation Days).

Edition: M. F. Wakelin, "An Edition of John Mirk's *Festial* as it is contained in the Brotherton Collection Manuscript." Unpublished M. A. Dissertation, Leeds University, 1960.

25. New College London Z.c.19

Contents: pp. 3-342 (the entire manuscript except for pp. 1-2, 343-4: there is scribbling on p. 343) **The Festial**.

Date: 1450 - 1500.⁴⁹

The manuscript is of paper and (leaves 1, 8, 9 and 16 of each quire) parchment, and contains, including the fly-leaf (pp. 1-2) at the beginning, 344 numbered pages. There are two unnumbered fly-leaves at the end. The pages are approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in dimension, and there are 21-31 lines per p. The manuscript is written in a single poor text hand, with rubrication on pp. 3-13, 27 and 32, and titles in red throughout. Latin quotations (and occasionally also Latin names) are in red, or in a darker brown ink. Spaces were left throughout for the usual large initial letters, but were never filled. There are occasional marginal notes, perhaps in different hands, in English and Latin. P. 343 contains scribbling. The localization of this manuscript shown on the map above is based upon an examination of only a few pp., but may be accepted tentatively pending further investigation.

The *Festial* has no prayer or prologue; it commences with the homily for S. Andrew, of which the beginning is missing, and ends with the homily for the Dedication, of which the last two narrations are missing. There are remnants of two leaves following this. The homily for the Translation of S. Thomas ends abruptly at the bottom of p. 244 (Erbe's edition, p. 198, line 20), and the homily for S. Margaret commences at the top of p. 245, the first few lines being missing. Including the incomplete homilies, there are altogether fifty-seven items.

26. Durham University Library Cosin V.III.5⁵⁰

Contents: ff. 1a-156b (the entire manuscript) **The Festial**.

Date: Second or third quarter of the fifteenth century.

The manuscript is of paper except for the first fly-leaf, four of the end fly-leaves and the outer and inner bifolia of each gathering, which are of parchment. It contains one fly-leaf plus 163 numbered ff., of which ff. 157-63 are end fly-leaves, four parchment and three paper. The first fly-leaf and parchment end-leaves are medieval, the paper end-leaves post medieval. The ff. really amount to 167, since ff. 72, 91, 95 and 121 are duplicated. The ff. are approx. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. x 8in. in dimension, and there are 31-34 lines per side in a single secretary hand of good and careful character, with blue and red initials and paragraph decoration and rubrication. The first initial is historiated, with a tonsured priest in an hexagonal pulpit, with his hands

clasped, and a tapestry hanging down the front, with a crimson background decorated in gold, all about 2in. x 2in. There are various contemporary annotations (some in a hand of a hostile, protestant tone, and some in another, non-hostile hand), some pen-trials and jottings (including a love poem on f. 162b), and on f. 161a accounts for parchment, paper and wax for "mastere heryng" and "mastere garite." On f. 157a is "Wyllyam northe citesyne of london and of cawntiberye," probably of the middle of the sixteenth century, and the name occurs again on f. 161b and, with "Thomas northe," on f. 142b.

The introductory prayer is that found only in MSS. Lansdowne 392, Harley 2403 and Cambridge University Library Dd.10.50. There is no prologue. The collection commences with the homily for Advent Sunday, and follows the Group B order, ending with the homily for the Dedication. There are sixty-one items altogether.

27. St. John's College Cambridge G 19

This is a copy of the Rouen printed edition of 1499.

28. The "Shrewsbury" Manuscript

Horstmann inferred the existence of this manuscript from a footnote in Thomas Wright's *History of Ludlow*, 1826, p. 181, "who (i.e. Wright) gives a miracle from a legend of Saint Winifred from a Shrewsbury MS."⁵¹ Horstmann quotes the beginning of the text given by Wright, which coincides with Erbe's edition of the *Festial*, p. 181, lines 7 - 13. Efforts to trace the manuscript in question have so far proved fruitless, and from Wright's footnote, which refers to "an ancient manuscript still preserved in that town" (i.e. Shrewsbury), it is clear that he is referring not to a *Festial* but to a manuscript Life (also untraced) of S. Winifred, from a version of which Mirk presumably obtained the narratio in the homily for S. Winifred in the *Festial*. This being the case, the "Shrewsbury" manuscript may now be discounted as non-existent.⁵² If further evidence is needed, it may be noted that in Thomas Wright's *History of Ludlow*, 1852, reference is made to the *Festial* on p. 201, but only to the British Museum MS. Cotton Claudius A II. It seems strange that Wright should not have mentioned the "Shrewsbury" manuscript in this later work. Finally, no trace of any manuscript of the *Festial* can be found in Shrewsbury itself. Two fifteenth-century manuscripts in the library of Shrewsbury School contain homilies, but one collection is in Latin, and a comparison of the others with those of Mirk shows that they are not of his authorship.

29. Havod 22 (Free Library, Cardiff)

The Welsh translation of the *Festial* occupies pp. 80 - 195 of this collection of theological tracts, Gospel translations, and other religious works. The manuscript has 728 pp. in all, and is written in two hands of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The *Festial* is in hand A.⁵³

A much abridged version of the *Festial* (perhaps taken from a printed source) is represented, both in the number of homilies and in their contents. It comprises fourteen items, viz. the homilies for Advent Sunday, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima and Quadragesima Sundays, the Second, Third and Fourth Sundays in Lent, Passion and Palm Sundays, Good

Friday, Easter Sunday, the Vigil of Pentecost and Pentecost. It will be noted that this list represents an abridged version of the *temporale*.

My first aim in writing this article was simply to provide, as a basis for further research, a list of all known manuscripts of whole or parts of John Mirk's *Festial*. In the course of writing the article, however, something else has emerged — the importance of the link between textual comparison and linguistic geography. I have not been able to pursue this subject in any detail here, but the following note is intended to indicate a possible line of approach.

The A-B classification of the manuscripts is basic: the contents are arranged in different orders, and the texts themselves differ considerably from A to B. A textual comparison of the A manuscripts would, I think, show that certain broad groupings emerged (e.g. MSS. Bodley Gough Ecclesiastical Top. 4, Douce 60 and Douce 108 are probably very close textually),⁵⁴ even if no definite relationship can be established. In the A group, there is, of course, the complicating factor of MS. Hatton 96, whose scribes seemed to have at least fragments of many versions at their disposal, the variety of the dialects seems to show this. What will its textual affinities prove to be? This in itself is an illustration of the importance of the textual-linguistic link. Further, a textual comparison of the Group B manuscripts would, I think, show that they are very closely associated with each other, even if as yet revealing no definite relationships. If we look at the map, we shall see that the Group A manuscripts can mostly be localized in the west (6 in Lincolnshire may be ignored for this purpose, since it consists only of five and a half separate tales, and might even belong to Group B). On the other hand, the Group B manuscripts (viz. 8, 17; 7, 9, 10, 16, 24, 26) seem to form two easterly groups. The link between text and language is even more strongly emphasized when we know, for example, that 7 and 24 (i.e. MSS. Harley 2371 and Brotherton) have a very close textual relationship,⁵⁵ as well as being linguistically close.

The conclusion that one would wish to draw is that the Group A manuscripts are copies of Mirk's original work — geographically they are near Mirk's home, and some of them include homilies for the local (west midland) saints, Winifred and Alkmunde. Then a redaction was made, resulting in a second family of texts, mostly distributed further east, and not including the "local" (and some other) homilies. This is mere hypothesis, but it is suggested by the contents of the manuscripts and by their geographical distribution. A thorough investigation of their textual relationships might be conclusive.

NOTES

I acknowledge with pleasure grants made to me by the School of English of the University of Leeds, to assist me in my researches for this article.

¹ New Haven, 1916-, p. 301.

² *Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. cix ff.

³ Wells, p. 301.

- ⁴ Mirk was also the author of the well-known versified *Instructions for Parish Priests*, adapted from the Latin *Oculus Sacerdotis* of William de Pagula, and extant in several manuscripts. MS. Royal 17 C XVII of this work is erroneously named as a manuscript of the *Festial* by G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 245, footnote 2.
- ⁵ The one modern edition was only partially completed by Th. Erbe for EETS (ES 96, 1905), and gives the text of MS. Gough Ecclesiastical Top. 4, with variants from five other manuscripts and a Glossarial Index.
- ⁶ London, 1952, p. 101. Whether or not Professor Wilson's examples can be identified with any of the extant manuscripts, it has not so far been possible to discover.
- ⁷ The (apparently deliberate) omission of the local saints, Winifred and Alkmunde, suggests that these collections were compiled for use in an area where the cults of the saints in question were not important. A glance at the proposed localizations of the Group B manuscripts (viz. 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 24 and 26) will bear this out. The omission of the other homilies is inexplicable.
- ⁸ Horstmann, op. cit., p. cxiii, suggests c. 1420, stating that this is the earliest and best manuscript (he had not, however, seen most of them). However, he notes that the text is not as good as might be expected from such a dating, that it needs much emendation from the other manuscripts, and that its text is some way removed from the original. He distinguishes three hands.
- ⁹ I am grateful to Professor McIntosh for his tentative suggestions about the contributions of the various hands in this and the other manuscripts, as also for their provisional geographical localizations.
- ¹⁰ The homily for the feast of SS. Philip and James is reckoned as one homily only. In the Group B manuscripts, the copyists seem to have regarded it as two, the second homily beginning at "Now . . ." (MS. Harley 2371), and the lay-out of the text indicating that a fresh homily is intended. In my treatment of the manuscripts, where the homily is obviously *one*, I have regarded it as one only; where it seems to be intended as two, I have regarded it as two.
- ¹¹ In the other manuscripts in which it occurs (see note 12, below), this homily is placed between the homilies for Quadragesima Sunday and Lent II.
- ¹² The homily *De Dominica Prima Quadragesime* occurs in MSS. Cotton Claudius A11, Gough Ecclesiastical Top. 4, Douce 60, Douce 108, Hatton 96 and Cambridge University Library Nn.3.10. S. Winifred occurs only in MSS. Cotton, Lansdowne 392, Harley 2403, Harley 2417, Gough, Caius and Southwell; S. Alkmunde only in Cotton, Gough and Caius; Nero only in Cotton, Gough, Caius and Southwell; the Lord's Prayer only in Cotton, Lansdowne 392, Harley 2403, Harley 2417, Gough and Southwell.
- ¹³ Horstmann, op. cit., p. cxviii, suggests the first half of the fifteenth century.
- ¹⁴ In his edition of Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* (1725), I, lx, Ward apparently identified Plommer with Robertus Plimmodunensis or Plympton, an Augustinian canon of Plympton, Devon. Hearne considers his claim for authorship against that of Mirk, to whom he finds the Cotton version of the work ascribed in a catalogue. He says that Ward's manuscript is very different from the printed book (one of the Wynkyn de Worde versions) which he (Hearne) mentions in his glossary to Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* (1724, II, 739-40). The printed book, in particular, he says, omits the account of S. Winifred, and he declares his intention, therefore, of supplying the account in his Appendix to Langtoft's *Chronicle*. The account is accordingly given (I, cxcvi-cc).
- ¹⁵ On f. 2b, facing, a modern hand has copied out the prayer and prologue, presumably because of the difficulty in reading the faded and discoloured f. 3a. On ff. 122a/b the same hand has given an index to the *Festial*. The same hand has written "in his olde age/ and now is known in all Cristendom" on a slip pasted at the bottom of f. 85b, in an attempt to supply the next line of the homily for the Translation of S. Thomas, only ten lines of which are present in the manuscript.
- ¹⁶ Edited by W. O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons*. EETS, OS 209, 1940. See p. 46. This is not one of the three homilies by Mirk.

- 17 The homily on the Lord's Prayer commences immediately after All Saints, at f. 94b, line 12. It continues to the bottom of f. 95b, but this leaf has been cut vertically down the middle, and half of it is missing. The homily probably continued for at least one more f.
- 18 It is perhaps a measure of their post-Reformation use that in many of the manuscripts the homily for the Translation of S. Thomas has been removed or crossed through.
- 19 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. cxvii, suggests the first half of the fifteenth century.
- 20 On the other hand, the "H" of "Hit" (Erbe's edition, p. 301) is a large red letter; apparently the scribe regarded homily number 73 as beginning here.
- 21 I have not identified any of the names. Ward tentatively suggests an identification for Elsebytt Bothe; see *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 690.
- 22 The section on S. James does not appear to be regarded as a separate homily; cf. note 10, above.
- 23 It may not be without significance that the last three of these exempla deal with the punishment or conversion of various Jews.
- 24 I am grateful to Professor McIntosh for drawing my attention to the scribble.
- 25 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. cxx, suggests the second half of the fifteenth century.
- 26 There is no separate homily for S. James the Less under the heading of SS. Philip and James. Miss Steckman points out (*op. cit.*, 44) that "the added sermons are only in the *temporale* section of the book." This is not entirely true of the Royal manuscript.
- 27 This manuscript and the following one are the only two to include homilies for this feast, which, in England before the Reformation, was celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas (July 7th).
- 28 The portion of the homily for SS. Philip and James which deals with S. James forms a separate and distinct item.
- 29 See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II (1921).
- 30 Ross, *op. cit.* (see note 16, above), p. xvi.
- 31 *Op. cit.*, p. xxvii.
- 32 *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi.
- 33 Presumably modern Rickmansworth.
- 34 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, suggests no date.
- 35 See J. P. W. M. Van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavyngham O. Carm.* (Rome, 1956), pp. xlii-xliii.
- 36 I am grateful to Miss Kathleen Smith of Oxford for this information.
- 37 The version of Lavyngham's *Treatise* in MS. Douce 60 is textually related to that in MS. Harley 2383, which has a Somerset provenance. But it is probable that the *Treatise* in MS. Douce 60 is the *source* of the version in MS. Harley 2383, rather than vice-versa (see Van Zutphen, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix, lvi).
- 38 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. cxix-cxx, gives a full list of the contents of MSS. Douce 60 and Douce 108.
- 39 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. cxix, suggests the second half of the fifteenth century.
- 40 See note 38, above. This homily is given twice.
- 41 I am grateful to Professor McIntosh for all the information regarding the hands and dialects of MS. Hatton 96. He and Dr. A. I. Doyle have suggested to me that hand A is perhaps indicative of a peripatetic scribe collecting text from manuscripts in a wide variety of places.
- 42 These cannot all be mentioned here, but are itemized in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1856-67), II.
- 43 Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. cxiii, suggests no date, but says that this is presumably a copy of an already printed book. He does not, however, say on what grounds he ventures this opinion.
- 44 These are as follows: 1. De Dominica Prima Quadragesime, Lent II, Lent III, Lent IV, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, S. George, S. Mark, SS. Philip and James, S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, the Translation of S. Thomas; 2. Ascension, Vigil of Pentecost, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, Assumption (fragment); 3. Septuagesima Sunday, Sexagesima Sunday. Cf. the list of homilies in MS. Cotton Claudius A II (appendix to this paper).

- ⁴⁵ I have so far been unable to obtain an expert opinion on the date of this manuscript. Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. cxvii, suggests the first half of the fifteenth century.
- ⁴⁶ The section on S. James the Less is regarded as a separate homily.
- ⁴⁷ For this information I am grateful to Mr. Neil Ker, who has made a careful consideration of the date and script of the manuscript.
- ⁴⁸ The date 1430 appears on the spine of the book: the source of this opinion is unknown.
- ⁴⁹ The authority for this dating is Mr. Neil Ker.
- ⁵⁰ I have so far been unable to examine this manuscript, and am indebted to Dr. A. I. Doyle for all the details printed here, as also for other information about the *Festial* manuscripts.
- ⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. cxii, footnote 1.
- ⁵² The "Shrewsbury" manuscript is also listed by Wells, *Manual*, p. 961.
- ⁵³ See Historical Manuscripts Commission, 48, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, II, Part I (1902), 329. The Welsh version is printed, with introduction and notes, by Henry Lewis as a *Supplement to the Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1923-4.
- ⁵⁴ This was established by taking variant readings from the homily for Pentecost. See Wakelin, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi, 603-20.
- ⁵⁵ Wakelin, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi-xvii, 603-20.

APPENDIX

I. Numbered list of the homilies in MS. Cotton Claudius A II (Group A).

- Prayer and Prologue
- 1 Advent Sunday
 - 2 S. Andrew
 - 3 S. Nicholas
 - 4 Conception of Our Lady
 - 5 S. Thomas Apostle
 - 6 Nativity of Our Lord
 - 7 S. Stephen
 - 8 S. John Evangelist
 - 9 Holy Innocents
 - 10 S. Thomas of Canterbury
 - 11 Circumcision
 - 12 Epiphany
 - 13 Conversion of S. Paul
 - 14 Purification
 - 15 Septuagesima Sunday
 - 16 Sexagesima Sunday
 - 17 Quinquagesima Sunday
 - 18 S. Matthias
 - 19 Quadragesima Sunday
 - 20 Second Sunday in Lent
 - 21 Third Sunday in Lent
 - 22 Fourth Sunday in Lent
 - 23 Annunciation
 - 24 Passion Sunday
 - 25 Palm Sunday
 - 26 Explanation of Tenebrae
 - 27 Good Friday
 - 28 Explanation of Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday rites
 - 29 Easter Sunday
 - 30 S. George
 - 31 S. Mark
 - 32 SS. Philip and James
 - 33 Invention of the Holy Cross
 - 34 De Dominica Prima Quadragesime (On the Epistle for the first Sunday in Lent.)

- 35 S. John Ante Portam Latinam
 - 36 Rogation Days
 - 37 Ascension
 - 38 Vigil of Pentecost
 - 39 Pentecost
 - 40 Trinity Sunday
 - 41 Corpus Christi
 - 42 S. Barnabas
 - 43 S. Winifred
 - 44 Nativity of S. John Baptist
 - 45 SS. Peter and Paul
 - 46 Denarracio de Morte Neronis Sermo
 - 47 Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury
 - 48 S. Margaret
 - 49 S. Mary Magdalene
 - 50 S. James
 - 51 S. Anne
 - 52 S. Lawrence
 - 53 Assumption
 - 54 Sermon on the Gospel for
the Assumption
 - 55 S. Bartholomew
 - 56 S. Alkmunde
 - 57 Nativity of Our Lady
 - 58 Exaltation of the Holy Cross
 - 59 Ember Days
 - 60 S. Matthew
 - 61 S. Michael
 - 62 S. Luke
 - 63 SS. Simon and Jude
 - 64 All Saints
 - 65 All Souls
 - 66 S. Martin
 - 67 S. Katherine
 - 68 On the Dedication of a church
 - 69 Sermo de Nupciis
 - 70 In Die Sepulture
 - 71 Qui Sunt Sepeliendi in Cimiterio
 - 72 Salutation
 - 73 Miracles of Our Lady
 - 74 Lord's Prayer
- II. Numbered list of the homilies in MS. Harley 2371 (Group B).
- 1 Advent Sunday (fragment)
 - 2 Septuagesima Sunday
 - 3 Sexagesima Sunday
 - 4 Quinquagesima Sunday
 - 5 Second Sunday in Lent
 - 6 Third Sunday in Lent
 - 7 Fourth Sunday in Lent
 - 8 Passion Sunday
 - 9 Palm Sunday
 - 10 Explanation of Tenebrae
 - 11 Explanation of Maundy Thursday
and Holy Saturday rites
 - 12 Good Friday
 - 13 Easter Sunday
 - 14 Rogation Days
 - 15 Ascension
 - 16 Vigil of Pentecost
 - 17 Pentecost
 - 18 Trinity Sunday
 - 19 Corpus Christi

- 20 S. Andrew
- 21 S. Nicholas
- 22 Conception of Our Lady
- 23 S. Thomas Apostle
- 24 Nativity of Our Lord
- 25 S. Stephen
- 26 S. John Evangelist
- 27 Holy Innocents
- 28 S. Thomas of Canterbury
- 29 Circumcision
- 30 Epiphany
- 31 Conversion of S. Paul
- 32 Purification
- 33 S. Matthias
- 34 Annunciation
- 35 S. George
- 36 S. Mark
- 37 SS. Philip and James
- 38 S. James the Less
- 39 Invention of the Holy Cross
- 40 S. John Ante Portam Latinam
- 41 Nativity of S. John Baptist
- 42 SS. Peter and Paul
- 43 Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury
- 44 S. Mary Magdalene
- 45 S. James
- 46 S. Anne
- 47 S. Lawrence
- 48 Sermon on the Gospel for
the Assumption
- 49 S. Bartholomew
- 50 Nativity of Our Lady
- 51 Exaltation of the Holy Cross
- 52 Ember Days
- 53 S. Matthew
- 54 S. Michael
- 55 S. Luke
- 56 SS. Simon and Jude
- 57 All Saints
- 58 All Souls
- 59 S. Martin
- 60 S. Katherine
- 61 On the Dedication of a church

LITERARY IMPLICATIONS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE VERBAL ARTS IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

By JAMES J. MURPHY

Although modern scholars have paid close attention to virtually every other aspect of fourteenth-century English life, comparatively little effort has been expended on the basic question of formal literary education. It is taken for granted, for instance, that a well-educated writer of the period would have been conversant with the Latin language and some of its literature, but few modern students have ventured to inquire into the means by which the writer would have been exposed to these influences. Since the fourteenth century saw the gradual replacement of French language instruction in schools, it is perhaps even more remarkable that the literary implications of this pedagogical development have not so far attracted more attention.¹

Consequently the concern here is with *instruction*—that is, formal classroom instruction in organized schools—in those arts which teach students how to use language. Therefore the term “verbal arts,” as used here in relation to fourteenth-century English schools, means any school subject which could have taught verbal skills to a student in the age of Chaucer, Gower, and Langland. Thus it can include grammar, rhetoric, poetry-reading, dialectic or logic, letter-writing, and any other auxiliary discipline that could teach a person how to read, to write, or to speak.

One of the basic problems in this area is that there is no single modern English term which is adequate to describe such instruction in the verbal arts. The term “linguistics” has a very specialised type of modern meaning. Even the word “grammar” means mere syntax and “rules” to the modern mind, although to Quintilian, to John of Salisbury, and to most medieval writers, the term “grammar” included also what we today would describe as the “study of literature.”² In any case the meaning of the term “grammar” would not include the study of dialectic or logic. And if we use, not a modern English term but a medieval one like “Arts of the *trivium*”—which would include grammar, logic, and rhetoric—it is necessary first to clear up the modern misconception that these arts were everywhere one thing and were consistently and continuously taught throughout the Middle Ages.³ Richard McKeon and others have attempted to make some distinction between various periods of the Middle Ages in respect to the teaching of the *trivium*.⁴ But more generally there has been greater attention paid by literary scholars to statements made by writers like John M. Manly. In his monograph, “Chaucer and the Rhetoricians,” published in 1926, Manly makes certain statements which have proved to be extremely influential; they refer to Chaucer, but describe Manly’s view of English educational

practices of the fourteenth century. For instance, he says: "What more likely than that the formal study of rhetoric not only was included in his (Chaucer's) curriculum, as one of the Seven Arts, but also occupied much of his thought and reflection in his maturer years?"⁵

And then, in relation to the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf: "The *Nova poetria* was one of the principal text-books in rhetoric and was studied in the schools with a zeal devoted perhaps to few modern school books."⁶

So influential has been Manly's view that more than 40 subsequent studies have been published in support of Manly's position. This theory would be that an English writer of the fourteenth century would have had available to him a formal training in rhetoric, including the study of Vinsauf's book.⁷

The available evidence, however, leads rather to the conclusion that this is not an accurate description of the educational situation in Chaucer's England. It might be useful first to summarize very briefly the arguments previously advanced elsewhere by the present writer, and then to consider some of the literary implications of actual fourteenth-century educational practices.

For the sake of brevity, these arguments may be reviewed as a set of propositions.

PROPOSITION 1. Medieval writing and speaking were taught through the use of four kinds of textbooks: first, ancient rhetoric, like Cicero's *De inventione*; second, medieval *ars dictaminis*, or letter-writing manuals like the *ars dictandi* of Thomas of Capua; third, medieval *ars praedicandi*, like Robert of Basevorn's *Forma praedicandi*; and fourth, four types of grammatical treatises: (1) syntax; (2) metrics; (3) rhythemics; (4) prose-writing.⁸

PROPOSITION 2. Neither ancient nor medieval forms of rhetoric were taught in fourteenth-century schools. The ancient rhetoric of Cicero and Aristotle was not taught in English schools before 1431.⁹ The *ars praedicandi* was not taught at all in the classrooms of England, since preaching was learned after completion of formal education. The *ars dictaminis* was not accepted as a formal university subject until 1432 at Oxford, and it is not likely that the *ars dictaminis* was taught in pre-university or other lower schools.¹⁰

PROPOSITION 3. The most common grammatical works in English lower schools were the *Barbarismus* of Donatus and the *Graecismus* of Evrard of Bethune. Both of these books place heavy emphasis on tropes and figures. University students studied Priscian or the *Doctrinale* of Alexandre de Villedieu.¹¹ The "arts of poetry"—of which Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* is the most famous—were not taught at all in English schools during the fourteenth century. Further, the fifteenth-century popularity of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* can be traced to an influential treatise written at Oxford about 1405: the *Regula dictaminis* (or *De moderno dictamine*) of Thomas Merke, Bishop of Carlisle, which quotes Vinsauf 18 times. This work survives in 10 manuscripts.¹²

PROPOSITION 4. Except for the allusions in Chaucer and Gower, there are very few literary allusions which would indicate a widespread English interest in rhetoric during the fourteenth century. The allusions in Chaucer

and Gower can be traced either to ordinary grammatical instruction in the lower schools, or to the reading of specific sources by these authors. Chaucer, for example, may well have learned from Nicholas Trivet's *Annales* the Vinsaufian *planctus* which he satirizes in the Nun's Priest's Tale, while Gower is merely transliterating a passage from Brunetto Latini.¹³

PROPOSITION 5. Dialectic or logic was taught in English universities primarily through two books of Aristotle: his *Topics* and his *On Sophistical Refutations*. It will be recalled that Chaucer's Host chides the clerk for studying some "sophime" as he rides along. Finally, dialectic was not a usual lower school subject.¹⁴

From all this, it seems fair to conclude that in relation to instruction in the verbal arts, the dominant member of the trivium was the *ars grammatica*, especially in the lower schools. It cannot fairly be said that there was such a thing as a "rhetorical tradition" in fourteenth-century England.

Consequently it is important that we examine carefully the actual nature of fourteenth-century English instruction in the verbal arts. In particular, we might look to instruction in the *ars grammatica*, with special attention to the lower schools which were apparently quite numerous in England. The educational history of grammar may be approached in several ways: first, by discussing the statutes relating to the teaching of grammar; second, by discussing what we know of non-university schools in England; third, by analysing the evidence about actual teaching methods used in the fourteenth century; and finally, by examining the basic fourteenth-century textbooks in grammar.

We know a great deal more about university statutes than those for the lower schools. The university picture is very clear: it was assumed that the student (entering at perhaps 17 to 19 years of age) already knew the basics in grammar, and while he sometimes was enjoined to study the elementary primers of Donatus, the emphasis was obviously on such advanced books as Alexandre de Villedieu's *Doctrinale* and Priscian's *ars maior*. At Oxford, at least, we hear of formal disputations on grammatical subjects. Both Cambridge and Oxford had separate Faculties of Grammar, and both Universities issued licences to masters wishing to teach the subject. Cambridge, like Oxford, had nearby opportunities available to their masters since in both towns there were lower schools which used university masters as teachers of grammar.¹⁵

These lower schools—the term is used here to designate any type of non-university school—have a long history. Saint Bede tells us about the founding of such a school in the year 631 by the king of the East Angles. Canterbury and York were of course famous all through Anglo-Saxon times. The Lateran Council of 1215, with its famous decree about cathedral schools, did much to encourage the establishment of church-connected schools all over Europe.¹⁶ There were also schools set up by guilds, by monasteries, by town authorities, and by individual citizens.

How numerous were these schools? Half a century ago Arthur F. Leach, the historian of English schools, published evidence to indicate that at least 55 schools founded in or before the fourteenth century were still in existence at the time of the dissolution in 1546 under Henry VIII. Of these 55 schools, 19 had been founded before 1300, and the remaining 36 during

the century itself.¹⁷ (See the Appendix for a list of these schools.) In addition to these known schools, of course, there must have been many more whose records have not survived into our times. King Henry's commissioners found a school flourishing at Bath in 1552, for instance — a very reasonable place to expect one — but Leach did not uncover medieval records of this institution. We might well suppose that such an illustrious town would have had as continuous a school as York did. And the commissioners also discovered that in Crukerne in Somersetshire (to use their own words) "a grammar scole hathe ben continuallie kepte."¹⁸ There is apparently no way for us now to learn what the term "continuallie" really means in a situation like this.

The Victoria County Histories also give us some clues. The Berkshire volume, for example, tells us that there is a record of a grammar school at Abingdon just outside Oxford, at various times: in 1139, in 1325, and in 1372.¹⁹ There is no way of telling whether it is one continuous school.

In any case, there seems good reason to believe that there were numerous lower schools in fourteenth-century England. On one day, for instance — the 15th of June, 1327 — the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln appointed masters to no less than six schools: Barton, Partenay, Grimsby, Horn-castle, Boston, and Grantham.²⁰

One historian of medieval education, Hastings Rashdall, puts it this way: "But it may be stated with some confidence that at least in the later Middle Ages the smallest towns and even the larger villages possessed schools where a boy might learn to read and acquire the first rudiments of ecclesiastical Latin; while, except in the very remote and thinly populated regions, he would never have had to go very far from home to find a regular grammar school."²¹ Rashdall notes elsewhere, moreover, that Richard de Bury in his *Philobiblon* mentions rural schoolmasters as possible sources of information in his book-hunting inquiries.

Our information about particular schools is fragmentary, and very often depends upon some accident of record-making. We would not know, for instance, that there was a grammar school at Rudham near Norwich in the year 1240, except that the master of the Norwich grammar school tried to get jurisdiction over the appointment of the masters for Rudham, and the dispute came before the bishop's court. The court's records have survived.²²

As one might expect, the records of the curricula of these schools are just as fragmentary—even more so, in fact, because very often all that has survived is the mention of the existence of a school, or the name of a master, with nothing at all about what was actually taught.

Nevertheless we can say with some confidence that we know quite a lot about what these lower schools taught during the fourteenth century. There are two reasons for this confidence: first, the strikingly consistent pattern which runs through all the records that we do have; and second, the evidence of the major teacher-training centre in England—that is, the Faculty of Grammar at Oxford.

One general impression emerges from a survey of these lower school records—namely, that their curriculum usually included grammar and "song." It will be recalled that in the Prioress's Tale Chaucer describes "A litel scole of Cristen folk" with three classes of students: there are the

beginners (learning their letters), the song-scholars, and the grammar-scholars. The song-scholars and the grammar-scholars are kept separate. These students learn, as Chaucer says, "As smale children doon in hire childhede." In other words, Chaucer regards it as a typical school. The passage is worth quoting here:

A litel scole of Cristen folk ther stood
Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were
Children an heep, ycomen of Cristen blood,
That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
Swich manere doctrine as men used there,
That is to seyn, to syngen and to rede,
As smale children doon in hire childhede.

Among thise children was a wydwe sone,
A litel clergeon, seven yeer of age,
That day by day to scole was his wone,
And eek also, where as he saugh th'ymage
Of Cristes mooder, hadde he in usage,
As hym was taught, to knele adoun and seye
His *Ave Marie*, as he goth by the weye.

Thus hath this wydwe hir litel sone ytaught
Oure blisful Lady, Cristes mooder deere,
To worshipec ay, and he forgat it naught,
For sely child wol alday soone leere.
But ay, whan I remembre on this mateere,
Seint Nicholas stant evere in my presence,
For he so yong to Crist dide reverence.

This litel child, his litel book lernynge,
As he sat in the scole at his prymer,
He *Alma redemptoris* herde synge,
As children lerned hire antiphoner;
And as he dorste, he drough hym ner and ner,
And herked ay the wordes and the noote,
Til he the firste vers koude al by rote.

Noght wiste he what this Latyn was to seye,
For he so yong and tendre was of age.
But on a day his felawe gan he preye
T'expounden hym this song in his langage,
Or telle hym why this song was in usage;
This preye he hym to construe and declare
Ful often tyme upon his knowes bare.

(VII. 495-529)

Chaucer's picture of the little school is perfectly consistent with the general picture gained from the school records. Chaucer's "litel clergeon" is described as sitting in the school "at his prymer." Evidently he is studying grammar, for he is not one of the choristers. His "prymer" is very probably one of the two most popular books that the Western world ever produced—the two primers of Aelius Donatus, the fourth-century Latin grammarian who was also the teacher of Saint Jerome. These books became so popular in the Middle Ages that the very term "Donat" or "Donet" was synonymous with "primer" or "first book" in any subject. For instance, Piers Plowman speaks of the art of fraudulent shop-keeping as "going among drapers my donet to learn." In the fifteenth century Reginald Pecock even wrote a book which he called a *Donet of the Christian Religion*, that is, an elementary catechism or primer.²³

The two short primers of Donatus deserve careful scrutiny. The first is his *ars minor*, dealing only with the eight parts of speech in a question and answer format.²⁴ Each of the eight parts is defined, its forms and types being exemplified usually by single Latin words. There are very few literary examples until Donatus reaches *praepositio*, when he supplies six examples from Virgil's *Aeneid*. The book is very short—taking up only 11 pages in the Keil edition—and undoubtedly required a great deal of supplementary oral instruction on the part of the classroom teacher.

The second primer of Donatus is his *Ars grammatica*, the so-called *ars maior*.²⁵ This is more complex, even though it is still an elementary textbook. It occupies 35 pages in the printed edition, as compared to the 11 pages of the *ars minor*. The subject-matter of the book falls readily into three major categories, and medieval manuscripts often indicate that its three parts were treated separately. Indeed, the third part—the so-called *Barbarismus*, named after its opening word—appears all over medieval Europe as a completely independent and separate work.²⁶

The contents of the *ars maior* are interesting to the student of English literary history. The first section has six rubrics: *de voce*, *de littera*, *de syllaba*, *de pedibus*, *de tonis*, and *de posituris*. It may be recalled that in the Squire's Tale, 101, Chaucer praises the knight on the brass steed because he speaks "Withouten vice of silable or of lettre."

The second section takes up in some detail the eight parts of speech, more than half the whole book being taken up with this matter. There are more quotations from the *Aeneid*, and also some from Ennius and Terence.

It is the third section that may be the most interesting, however. For one thing, it is heavily salted with examples taken from the *Aeneid* and from the *Georgics* as well. But its chief literary interest may lie in the fact that it defines and exemplifies 17 figures of speech and 13 tropes.²⁷ For the trope of *allegoria*, incidentally, Donatus provides seven species. An exposure to Donatus would therefore have acquainted any English writer with the rudiments of the figures and tropes. Virtually every fourteenth-century library catalogue I have seen shows that both of Donatus's primers were available in England.²⁸

Another popular elementary grammar text was the *Graecismus* of Evrard of Bethune, an hexameter poem of 4440 lines written about 1212.²⁹ The work is divided into 15 books, the first three of which present 102 figures which Evrard regards as either permissible or prescribed for good

writing. Evrard divides the figures and tropes into three classes: *permissiva* (metaplasms, schemes, and tropes), *prohibitiva* (barbarisms and solecisms), and *preceptiva* (colours of rhetoric). The remaining 12 books treat etymology, orthography, noun and pronoun forms, and Greek derivatives; the book takes its name from the section on Greek words. The book was so popular in France that Henri d'Andeli in his *Battle of the Seven Arts* names Evrard as one of the modern defenders of Priscianic grammar. Medieval library catalogues reveal that the *Graecismus* was no less popular in England, and it is known for instance that Saint Paul's School in London possessed two copies at a period when Chaucer could have been a student there.³⁰ Hence the *Graecismus* must be regarded as another possible source which English writers could have used to gain their knowledge of figures and tropes. Grammatical instruction, then, may safely be taken as the key to at least one aspect of the early literary formation of medieval English authors.

Three other books figured in grammatical instruction in this period. The first two are the so-called *Distichs of Cato*³¹ and the *Ars poetica*³² of Horace. Evidence for the use of these books is somewhat obscure, however, and at the moment this should be regarded merely as a possibility and not as a fact. The third book, on the other hand—the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid—is clearly prescribed in several instances, including a statute of the Faculty at Oxford University.³³ It is very useful to have some idea of the books used in grammatical instruction, but what use was made of the books, and what kind of teaching actually took place in the fourteenth-century classroom?

In the year 1357 Bishop Grandisson of Exeter is found complaining that the grammar masters in his diocese rush their students through the learning of prayers so they can more quickly get to "other school-books (*magistrales*) and learn the poets and verse-writers."³⁴ In Exeter in mid-century, at least, grammar masters apparently went beyond Donatus to take up the actual reading of poetry.

We naturally wonder, which poets. Miss Edith Rickert, in her very illuminating article on "Chaucer at School," has shown that school library records—including bequests of books—can be a fruitful source of information in attempting to answer this kind of question.³⁵ Perhaps a careful scrutiny of local library catalogues from various parts of medieval England would enable us to form a more complete picture of the poets commonly studied during the century. We do, incidentally, have one enlightening bit of news from the third quarter of the century, when the framers of Oxford grammar statutes found it necessary to prohibit by name the teaching of two particular books dealing with love—one is by a certain "Pamphilus," the other is Ovid's *Art of Love*.

It might be expected that a fairly well educated master of grammar, of this or any other country, would use in his teaching whatever books were familiar to him. Consequently it is of the greatest importance that we examine the cultural background of the grammar masters themselves. When William of Wyckeham founded Winchester College in 1382 to teach (in his own words) "grammar, the foundation, gate, and source of all other liberal arts," he also bequeathed an impressive number (240) of books for use by the teachers (and possibly also the students?).³⁶ The Faculty of Grammar

at Oxford encouraged the teaching of verse-writing, and models must surely have been used in this connection.

Two Oxford statutes may help us to understand the situation. In the year 1306 the grammar M.A.'s were required to pass an examination in the writing of both verse and prose (*de modo versificandi et prosandi*).³⁷

One of the most direct descriptions of medieval classroom teaching methods appears in an Oxford statute from about the middle of the fourteenth century. Apparently it dates from just before 1344. It is worth quoting in entirety here; the statute reads as follows:

Every fortnight they (i.e. the students) must present verses, and compositions (*litteras*), put together with fitting words, not swollen or half a yard long, and with *clausulae* concise and appropriate, displaying metaphors, and, as much as possible, replete with *sententiae*; which verses and compositions, those who are given the task should write on parchment on the next free day or before, and then on the following day when they return to school they must recite them by heart to the master, and hand in their writings.³⁸

This is a far more arduous programme than most modern scholars would ordinarily associate with fourteenth-century English grammar schools. And perhaps the great outbreaks of the plague during the century so decimated the ranks of grammar masters that this plan of study was not fully realized. Nevertheless it offers some intriguing suggestions as to the possible literary formation of young boys educated by the graduates of the Oxford Faculty of Grammar. For one thing, it implies a sufficient study of poetry to enable the students to write their own verses. It also suggests that prose composition was contemplated as well. And there is certainly a clear statement of standards to be attained in the writing done by the pupils. Especially interesting is the requirement that the prose compositions employ rhythmical *clausulae*, since rhythmical prose is one of the three chief types of writing described in all the major medieval grammatical treatises.³⁹ Rhythmical prose, moreover, would seem to be a rather complex exercise, with the further implication that some kinds of prose models must also have been studied. (Robert of Basevorn, for instance, who lectured in Theology at Oxford in 1322, describes in his *forma praedicandi* seven kinds of prose style worth imitating.)⁴⁰ Nor can we assume that this statute refers merely to the *ars dictaminis*, or art of letter-writing, whose manuals prescribe rhythmical prose of the type known as the *cursus*. The evidence is clear that in Oxford the *ars dictaminis* was not acknowledged by the Faculty of Grammar until 1432.⁴¹ This was so obvious an omission from the grammar curriculum, in fact, that private teachers like Thomas Sampson and John de Briggs made their livings in that university town (c. 1350-80) by teaching the *ars dictaminis* outside the University curriculum.⁴²

At any rate it seems reasonable to expect that the fourteenth-century masters of grammar would have been found teaching not only Donatus and his rules, but making applications as well, either to verse models and

prose models or to the actual original compositions of students. Surely they could not have been expected to teach the Latin language in a vacuum. Brother Bonaventure, in a recent issue of *Medieval Studies*, has identified 12 manuscript collections which he believes were used this way in the fifteenth century.⁴³

It remains to suggest several implications of what has been noted here. First of all, it seems crucial that, as students of English literary history, we should pay a good deal more attention to the actual educational practices of the fourteenth century. This is still a field governed by generalizations—generalizations which in many cases stem from studies conducted as much as half a century ago. So it might be very profitable to look carefully at individual schools, especially those in areas which have given rise to some of our major literary figures. It is now possible, perhaps, to do for Chaucer or Langland what Donald Lemen Clark has done for Milton in his book, *Milton at Saint Paul's School*, or what T. W. Baldwin has done for Shakespeare in his *Smalle Latine and Lesse Greeke*.⁴⁴ In other words, what is needed is a systematic collation of the instructional resources of literary England in the fourteenth century.

For another thing, we have never really assessed in any detail the impact of the universities on the verbal training of English youth. Grammar, of course, was a required subject for bachelors at both Oxford and Cambridge, advanced work being taught by use of Priscian.⁴⁵ Even dialectic, in the sense that it deals with the "meaning" of words, may have some importance in this connection.⁴⁶ It is reasonable to suppose that the masters in the numerous lower schools must have carried with them some of the cultural background which they themselves gained in their own higher education.

Moreover, the widespread use of the two books of Donatus as grammar texts, together with the ubiquity of the *Graecismus*, would indicate that the figures of speech and tropes were known to even the least-educated student who had passed through a lower school in England. Some pains have been taken, for instance, to show that Richard Rolle must have studied rhetoric,⁴⁷ since some of his language is highly stylized and filled with figures and tropes. But apparently he could have learned that whole art in an ordinary English grammar school. The same thing is true of John Gower, and of Chaucer as well.⁴⁸ The basic implication here is obvious—that is, the student need not have studied rhetorical *dispositio*. But there is one point further which merits consideration. It is this: if tropes and figures were learned from a textbook like Donatus, and were exemplified or studied in actual poems—whether Latin or vernacular—it would seem likely that new and original productions by writers trained in this way would tend to follow the *genres* represented by the models. This does seem to describe precisely what occurs regularly in medieval English literary art.

Most important, however, is the suggestion that we cast a newly appreciative eye on the use of *florilegia* in fourteenth-century England. From what has been said here so far, it is possible that some of these collections were used as teaching anthologies. Brother Bonaventure, in fact, refers to them as "reading texts." If so, what implications there would be in those which contain Latin and French and English verses!

As a last word, it would seem that the one idea which emerges from all of this is that for too long a time we have allowed ourselves to think of Middle English literature as somehow appearing full-blown in the adult life of its authors—as if any literature could thus appear without a strong foundation of training in the verbal arts of reading, writing, and speaking. We need to know more about these verbal arts in the fourteenth century. For example, even such an excellent study as that of John Lydgate done recently by Walter F. Schirmer is able to devote just three lines to the whole question of that poet's early education, and indeed the whole matter of his formal education is handled in no more than a paragraph.⁴⁹ Yet Lydgate grew up within the area served by several grammar schools⁵⁰ controlled by the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, which he eventually entered at the age of 15 years. It is obviously improbable that he was completely illiterate at the age of 15, so that we might well wonder what his early instruction in language had taught him before entering the monastery. Later the Benedictines sent him to Oxford. What did he learn there about the uses of language? In other words, what was John Lydgate's total training in the verbal arts?

This is just one small example of the type of question we can now ask ourselves about English literary figures of the Middle Ages. Until we secure answers to such questions, our picture of medieval English literary training can only be an incomplete one.

Appendix

A PARTIAL LIST OF MEDIEVAL ENGLISH LOWER SCHOOLS

(The following partial list of English lower schools is given as an illustration of the number of such schools that might be identified from a careful collation of all the available sources.)⁵¹

Presented here is a list of British medieval grammar schools which flourished in England from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries. The names of these schools have been arranged chronologically by their founding dates or by the dates of their first historical mention. Most often the date must be attributed to the latter because of the scarcity of founding documents.

This list has been drawn from the studies of medieval schools made by Arthur Leach which were published in the three volumes: *English Schools at the Reformation* (1896), *Educational Charters and Documents* (1911), and *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915). The sources used here have been limited to the materials in the Leach publications because these volumes still form the most complete history of medieval British schools in existence. In fact, after the reports of the Chantry Commissions of Edward VI in 1548, no such history was attempted until Leach wrote *The Schools of Medieval England* in 1915. Even the two British government studies contained in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867 and the reports of the Commissioners for Inquiry Concerning Charities of 1818 to 1837 relied on the dates of medieval foundations found in the Chantry Commissions.⁵²

Although Leach himself used the findings of the three commission reports, he went beyond these findings to the original charters and documents kept by the county historical societies and the local religious establishments.⁵³ The materials Leach gathered in his field work were much more complete and accurate than those which had been gathered previously by the Chantry Commissions, because the Commissions did not delve into the early foundations. As a result, Leach was able to establish ancient foundations for many grammar schools which had formerly been assigned to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Commissions.

An illustration of the additions and alterations made by Arthur Leach to the process of dating English grammar schools can be found in a comparison of two lists of dates presented in the appendix of *English Schools at the Reformation*.⁵⁴ The comparison shows that out of the two-hundred-and-four grammar schools attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Chantry Commissions and later the Schools Inquiry Commissions, eighty-three could be reassigned to the period between the Conquest and the fifteenth century.

The dates of the following list have been drawn predominantly from the discoveries made by Leach after he had written *English Schools at the Reformation*. The dates of schools founded before the Conquest are included here which were not included in the Leach publications prior to *The Schools of Medieval England*. There have also been included in this list the indications of changes in the nature of the religious bodies governing certain schools. The great implications of these changes from secular to monastic control of the schools were discussed most fully by Leach in his later writings.

Grammar Schools founded and first mentioned before the Conquest

598	Canterbury	912	Tamworth
604	Rochester	913	Stamford
604	St. Paul's (London)	†914	Bedford
631	Dunwich	914	Bridgenorth
*634	Lindisfarne	†914	Derley
635	York	914	Warwick
648	Winchester	917	Beverley
†661	Ripon	†917	Leicester
672	Lichfield	*943	Glastonbury
*674	Wearmouth	*955	Abingdon
678	Hexham	1016	Bury St. Edmunds
*682	Jarrow	†1060	Waltham
688	Hereford	§1066	Crediton
688	Worcester	§1066	St. David's
†705	Sherborne	§1066	Southwell
907	Chester	§1066	Wimborne

*Grammar Schools founded or first mentioned after the Conquest
(1066 - 1400)*

1066	Pontefract	1264	Merton Grammar School
†1074	St. George's (Oxford)		Maldon (moved to Oxford 1270)
1075	Salisbury		
1090	Aucher	*1266	Howden
1090	Hastings	1269	College of St. Edmund
1090	Wymming	1274	Penryn
*§1097	St. Alban's	1275	Marlborough
†1100	Dunstable	1276	Louth
†1100	Gloucester	c. 1280	Arundel
1100	Norwich	1284	Lancaster
1107	Thetford	c. 1285	Chesterfield
†§1118	St. Frideswides (Oxford)	1285	Peterhouse School (Oxford)
†§1124	Huntington		
†1125	Reading	c. 1286	Appleby
†1131	Dunstable	1289	Kinoulton
§1139	St. Martin-le-Grand (London)	§1291	Carlisle
§1139	St. Mary-le-Bow (London)	1291	Darlington
†1146	Bristol	1291	Worcester
†1149	Derby	1293	Taunton
*1150	Christ Church (London)	1298	Bridgewater
†§1150	Twyneham (Christ Church, Hants)	1298	Wakefield
		1300	Malmesbury
1175	Wells	1302	New Shoreham
†1180	Durham	1303	Bourne
1200	Helmsley	1304	Dalton
1206	Colchester	1304	Maidstone
1209	Cambridge	1305	Kelks
1212	Elgin	1309	Strubby
1219	Barton-on-Humber	1310	Crewkerne
1219	Lincoln	1311	St. Alphage's
1230	Northampton	1314	Ashburton
1232	Chichester	1320	Seaford
1238	Newark	§1321	Northallerton
§1238	Southwell Minster	1321	St. Martin's (Canterbury)
1240	Rudham	1324	Harlow
1242	Cirencester	1326	Yarnescomb
1244	Basingstoke	1327	Graham
*1248	Lewes	1327	Grimsby
1250	Institution of St. Osmund	1327	Horncastle
1251	Battle	1327	Partenay
1262	Winchester College School (Salisbury)	1327	St. Botolph's (Boston)
1263	Plymton		

1332	Gateford	1379	New College School (Oxford)
1337	Ottery St. Mary	1379	Wisbeck
1340	Queen's College School (Oxford)	1380	Launceston
1345	Whitewell	1382	Beccles
1348	Farburn	1384	Henley
1349	Ludlow	1384	Wotton-under-Edge
1349	Tickhill	1387	Ledbury
1351	Doncaster	1388	Maldon
1351	Dunham	1389	Great Baddow
1352	Corpus Christi School (Cambridge)	1389	Rayleigh
1354	Westminster	1392	Coggeshall
1362	Cobham	1392	Dilwyn
*1363	Evesham	1392	Wellingborough
1364	Braintree	1392	Writtle
1364	Coventry (Bablake)	1393	Bredgar College
1364	Kingston-on-Thames	1394	Bromyard
1367	Penkridge	1394	Cockermouth
1369	Bocking	1394	Hemingborough
†1372	Abingdon (Roissey's)	1396	Boroughbridge
1373	Crofton	1399	Preston
1375	Chelmsford	1400	Bolton-upon-Derne
*1379	Bardney	1402	Stratford-upon-Avon

* School founded by regular clergy and never secularized.

† School founded by secular clergy and re-established under regular clergy before the twelfth century.

‡ School founded by secular clergy and re-established under regular clergy during and after the twelfth century.

§ School probably founded before Conquest, but first mentioned at a later date.

NOTES

¹ The standard works in this area date back half a century or more: Arthur F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (New York, 1915); Leach, *A History of Winchester College* (New York, 1899); Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908). On the universities, of course, the standard work is Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (3 vols., new ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford, 1936). For a revealing insight into the implications of the change from French, see M. Dominica Legge, "William of Kingsmill—a Fifteenth Century Teacher of French in Oxford," in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature Presented to Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 241-46.

- ² Haec igitur professio, cum brevissime in duas partes dividatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem"; *Institutio oratoria* I. iv. 2. As the *De grammatico* of Saint Anselm demonstrates, this double function of the grammarian was clearly understood in the Middle Ages. See D. P. Henry, "Why grammaticus?" in *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi*, XXVIII (1958), 165-80. The survey of Charles Thurot, recently reprinted, is still the best introduction to medieval grammatical history: "Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge," *Notices et extraits*, XXII (1868), 1-540. For a brief summary, however, see R. H. Robins, *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1961), pp. 69-90.
- ³ One recent study, for instance, makes the flat statement that "Grammar, logic, and rhetoric were the principal subjects" in pre-university studies; see George F. Kneller, *Higher Learning in Britain* (University of California Press, 1955), p.9.
- ⁴ Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 1-32. Similar efforts appear in Charles Sears Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928).
- ⁵ John M. Manly, *Chaucer and the Rhetoricians*, Warton Lectures on English Poetry, XVII (London, 1926), p.6.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.
- ⁷ For a general discussion of Manly's theories, see James J. Murphy, "A New Look at Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," *Review of English Studies*, N.S. XV (1964), 1-20.
- ⁸ James J. Murphy, "The Arts of Discourse, 1050-1400," *Medieval Studies*, XXIII (1961), 194-205; also "The Medieval Arts of Discourse: An Introductory Bibliography," *Speech Monographs*, XXIX (1962), 71-78.
- ⁹ James J. Murphy, "The Earliest Teaching of Rhetoric at Oxford," *Speech Monographs*, XXVII (1960), 345-47.
- ¹⁰ Peter of Blois and Gervase de Melkley treated *dictamen* briefly in thirteenth-century treatises; Thomas Sampson (fl. 1350) and John de Briggis (1380) both made their living in Oxford by teaching the subject privately outside the ordinary university curriculum. See Murphy, "Rhetoric in Fourteenth Century Oxford," *Medium Aevum*, XXXIV (1965), 1-20.
- ¹¹ Brief descriptions may be found in Thurot, *op. cit.*
- ¹² See Murphy, *ibid.* By the third quarter of the fifteenth century the anonymous author of *The Court of Sapience* (c.1470) is found referring to Vinsauf as "Galfryde, the poete lawreate" (l.1916). And Stephen Hawes uses Vinsauf as the basis of his discussion of Lady Rhetoric in *Passtime of Pleasure* (1509).
- ¹³ Murphy, "John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and the First Discussion of Rhetoric in the English Language," *Philological Quarterly*, XVI (1962), 401-11.
- ¹⁴ Only three scattered instances of dialectic in English lower schools have come down to us: Southwell Minster in 1248, Bury St. Edmund in 1290, and Warwick in 1316; see Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, *passim*. Aristotle's two books of logic, incidentally, deal with language as well as with argument; see Murphy, "Two Medieval Textbooks in Debate," *Journal of the American Forensic Association*, 1 (1964), 1-6.
- ¹⁵ Richard W. Hunt, "Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages," in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series, XVI (Oxford, 1964), pp. 164-93.
- ¹⁶ This and other important documents may be found in Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents*, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge, 1911). A very brief sketch of the different types of medieval schools is given by Richard B. Hepple, *Medieval Education in Britain*, Historical Association Leaflet No. 90 (London, 1932).
- ¹⁷ Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*.
- ¹⁸ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation, 1546-48* (Westminster, 1896), p.192.
- ¹⁹ See *The Victoria History of Berkshire*, ed. P. H. Ditchfield and William Page (4 vols., London, 1906-24).
- ²⁰ Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, p.192. Leach cites this incident as a "striking proof of the ubiquity of grammar schools at this time," since the records survive only by accident and it may be safely presumed that similar

appointments were regularly made in other dioceses as well. In fact the Lincoln records indicate the existence of still another school—that at Stamford—for the Dean and two canons sitting as an annual appointment commission for these schools noted four years later (1331) that the master of the Stamford school was absent without sending any excuse.

- ²¹ Rashdall, *Universities*, III, 350.
- ²² Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, p. 168. The earliest reliable record of Salisbury school, for instance, is found in a grant made in 1138 to a schoolmaster, but Leach notes that a thirteenth-century document at that Cathedral purports to contain the actual "Institution of St. Osmund," which in the year 1091 set forth the duties of the schoolmaster. Osmund was chancellor under William the Conqueror. Text in Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 72-75. Also see Leach, "Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England; with Suggestions for Its Continuance and Extension," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1913-14 (London, 1915), 433-480.
- ²³ A useful summary of Donatus's works and influence may be found in Paul Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (New York, 1906), pp. 36 ff.
- ²⁴ Text in Henry Keil (ed.), *Grammatici latini* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1864), IV, 355-66.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 367-402.
- ²⁶ A convenient summary of medieval library catalogue listings appears in *Handschriften antiken autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, ed. Karl Manitius, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LXVII (Leipzig, 1935).
- ²⁷ The medieval history of the doctrine of *figurae* remains unwritten. As Donatus shows, it is clear that two separate traditions or streams of influence were carried over from ancient times—these two being the grammatical and the rhetorical respectively. The standard rhetorical figures and tropes, popularized by the ubiquitous pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, totalled 64 in number. The grammarians, however, not only tampered with this list but added others of their own; Donatus, for instance, expands the 10 tropes of ancient rhetoric into 13 tropes with a total of 28 species. By the thirteenth century the list of tropes and figures had increased to more than 100. See Thurrot, *op. cit.*, 458-84; also Leonid Arbusow, *Colores rhetorici: Eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplatz als Hilfsmittel für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* (Göttingen, 1948). Some preliminary classifications of ancient figures occur in Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (2 vols., Munich, 1960). For charts revealing the use of the *ad Herennium* list in some of the medieval *artes poetriae*, see Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1924) pp. 52-54.
- ²⁸ Ernest A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (London, 1911), presents summaries of various medieval catalogues.
- ²⁹ Eberhard Bethuniensis *Graecismus*, ed. Johann Wrobel (Vratislaviae, 1887).
- ³⁰ Edith Rickert, "Chaucer at School," *Modern Philology*, XXIX (1931), 257-74.
- ³¹ The sum of 2d. was expended at Merton College Grammar School in 1308, for instance, for "a Cato"; see Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 221; *Schools of Medieval England*, p. 174.
- ³² The expense of repairing a book of Horace (*in debili libro oracii*) is noted in 1349, again at Merton; *ibid.*, p. 196. Rickert notes that St. Paul's School also possessed a copy of *veterem poetriam* (i.e. Horace).
- ³³ Henry Anstey (ed.), *Monumenta academica oxoniensis* (2 vols., London, 1868), II, 437. The same statute warns that the students must be kept away from such unsuitable books as *Ovidii de arte amandi et Pamphili*.
- ³⁴ "We daily see among the masters and teachers in our diocese of boys and illiterates, instructing them in grammar, a preposterous and useless, yes, and a superstitious method of teaching, more like that of heathens than of Christians; that as soon as the pupils have learnt even imperfectly the Lord's Prayer with the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, Matins, the hours of the Virgin, and the like, which are connected with the faith and their soul's salvation, they make them pass on prematurely to other school-books (*magistrales*) and to learn the poets and verse writers"; *Grandisson's Register*, II, 1192; text in Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 314-17.

- ⁸⁵ See especially her discussion of the books bequeathed to the school by Tolleshunt (1328) and Ravenstone (1358) for the use of the boys (*ad usum puerorum*); Ravenstone also left a special chest for keeping the books in the boys' room. See above, note 30.
- ⁸⁶ The books are listed in Savage, *Old English Libraries*, p. 272.
- ⁸⁷ And the same statute that forbids Ovid and Pamphilus makes it clear that poetry was a regular staple in the curriculum, for it requires the use of "librum sive libros regulas et naturam grammaticales principaliter pertranctes vel aliter pertranctem, aut moralia vel metaphoras sive poesias honestas"; Anstey, *Monumenta academica*, II, 441.
- ⁸⁸ "Item, tenentur singulis quindenis versus dare, et literas compositas verbis decentibus non ampullosis aut sesquipedalibus, et clausulis succinctis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis, et quantum possint, sententia refertis, quos versus et quas literas debent recipientes in proximo die feriato vel ante in pergamenio scribere, et inde sequenti die, cum ad scholas venerint, Magistro suo corde tenus reddere et scripturam suam offerre"; Anstey, *Monumenta academica*, II, 437-38.
- ⁸⁹ Jean de Garlande, for instance, wrote a major treatise entitled *De arte prosayca metrica et rithmica*. For classifications of types of medieval discourse, see Murphy, "The Arts of Discourse, 1050-1400," *Medieval Studies*, XXIII (1961), 194-205.
- ⁴⁰ Robert of Basevorn, *Forma praedicandi*, ed. Th.-M. Charland in *Artes praedicandi* (Ottawa and Paris, 1936), pp. 233-323. Cap. vii suggests imitating Christ, Paul, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, the mode of Paris and the mode of Oxford. The medieval *florilegium*, or anthology of separate excerpts or works, would have made a useful tool for such study of various models.
- ⁴¹ Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta antiqua universitatis oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), p. 240.
- ⁴² It is also interesting to note that both Sampson and De Briggis relied heavily on Italian *dictamen* theory. Sampson's *Modus dictandi brevis et utilis* survives in B.M. MS Royal 17 B XLVII, ff. 42-48, while the *Compilatio de arte dictandi* of De Briggis is extant in Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 52, ff. 82-89. Cf. Noel Denholm-Young, "The Cursus in England," in *Collected Papers on Medieval Subjects* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 26-55.
- ⁴³ Brother Bonaventure, F. S. C., "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England," *Medieval Studies*, XXIII (1961), 1-20.
- ⁴⁴ Some previous efforts in this direction may be more misleading than revealing. George A. Plimpton, *The Education of Chaucer, Illustrated from the Schoolbooks in Use in His Time* (Oxford, 1935), for instance, holds a commonly-held assumption that rhetoric was taught in the schools, and pictures the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as one of Chaucer's schoolbooks.
- ⁴⁵ Beginning with the detailed Oxford statute of 1267, for example, the universities are careful to specify required books by name. See Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 190-95.
- ⁴⁶ John of Salisbury, for instance, had noted in 1149 that Aristotle's *On Sophistical Refutations* "subjoins a list of forms of refutatory argumentation that depend on wording. These include ambiguity, amphiboly, combination, division, accent, and figurative speech"; *Metalogicon*, trans. Daniel D. McGarry (University of California Press, 1955), p. 239. Indeed, as Richard Hunt has pointed out (see Note 15 above), the university disputations on the grammar of Priscian gave rise to the *grammatica speculativa*, which is a forerunner of modern semantics.
- ⁴⁷ Gabriel L. Liegey, "The Rhetorical Aspects of Rolle's *Melos contemplativorum*," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954.
- ⁴⁸ See above, Notes 7, 8, and 13.
- ⁴⁹ Walter F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. Ann. E. Keep (London, 1961).
- ⁵⁰ In nearby Ingham, for instance, the religious of the Order of the Holy Trinity may well have had a school. The congregation of 13 religious was established there in 1355 with the aid of Miles de Stapleton, a knight of Norwich. The fifth prior, John de Blakeney (fl. 1439) is the author of a treatise on writing, *Tractatus de modo inveniendi ornata verba*, which survives in B.M. MS Royal 12 B XVII, ff. 53-57.

- ⁵¹ This list of schools was prepared with the assistance of Miss Frances Cornell. See also P. J. Wallis, *Histories of Old Schools: A Revised List for England and Wales* (Department of Education, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1966).
- ⁵² Arthur F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (Westminster, 1896). pp. 321-323.
- ⁵³ Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), Bibliography, pp. vii-ix.
- ⁵⁴ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 322-323.

RHETORIC AND STYLE: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

By R. C. ALSTON and J. L. ROSIER

This Bibliography of Rhetoric and Stylistics is intended primarily for students of English literature and language. Because of the magnitude of the subject the lists, representing the several subdivisions, are necessarily selective. For the seminal periods of classical, medieval, and Renaissance rhetoric we have endeavoured to cite all the primary works of fundamental importance; in the secondary works we have included both the standard, authoritative studies of modern scholarship and a wide range of studies which illustrate the variety of interests in recent stylistic criticism.

The section on formal Rhetoric is devoted largely to the medieval and Renaissance periods, whereas the section on Stylistics we have extended to include some of the criticism devoted to later periods of English literature.

In preparing this Bibliography, particularly for the Renaissance, we are indebted to an earlier, unpublished list compiled by the late R. F. Johnson, of Stanford University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AS—*American Speech*
ELH—*English Literary History*
JEGP—*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JHI—*Journal of the History of Ideas*
MLN—*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ—*Modern Language Quarterly*
MLR—*Modern Language Review*
MP—*Modern Philology*
N&Q—*Notes and Queries*
PMLA—*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
PQ—*Philological Quarterly*
QJS—*Quarterly Journal of Speech*
RES—*Review of English Studies*
SP—*Studies in Philology*.

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